A

REVIEW

OF

Mr. *Richard Baxter's*

LIFE.

WHEREIN

Many Miſtakes are Rectified, ſome Falſe Relations Detected, ſome Omiſſions ſupplyed out of his other BOOKS.

WITH

REMARKS on ſeveral Material Paſſages.

By *THOMAS LONG*, B.D.
One of the Prebendaries of St. *Peter's*, *Exon.*

I have been in the heat of my Zeal ſo forward to Changes and Ways of Blood, that I fear God will not let me have a hand in the peaceable building of his Church.

Mr. *Baxter's* Letter to Dr. *Hill.*

LONDON:
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TO THE

RIGHT REVEREND Father in GOD, JONATHAN Lord Biſhop of *Exeter*.

May it pleaſe your Lordſhip,

I Am very ſenſible how Criminal it is for any Chriſtian to do what the very Heathen have forbid, to ſpeak any thing of the Dead, but what is well; and yet there are ſo many ill things recorded of Mr. *Baxter* in the following Treatiſe, that I might juſtly incur your Lordſhips diſpleaſure, if I could not plead very neceſſary and ſatisfactory Reaſons for this Undertaking.

Firſt therefore, I plead that I have ſaid little or nothing in what is now publiſhed, but what Mr. *Baxter* reported of himſelf, as Matters of Fact in the Hiſtory of his Life, and other Books printed in his Life time, or what is fairly inferred from the ſame.

2. That the Subſtance of what is now publiſhed, was printed about nine years before his Death, which it is evident he had peruſed, and acknowledgeth he had given no Anſwer to it, (except a *Mentiris*, which was his uſual Reply to other Adverſaries, for want of Reaſon and Argument).

3. I ſay that (though dead) he hath firſt provoked me; for in *p.* 188 *part* 3. of his Life, he ſaith, Long *of* Exeter *wrote ſo fierce a Book to prove me out of my own Writings to be one of the worſt Men living on Earth (full of Falſhoods and old retracted Lines and half Sentences) that I never ſaw any like it:* and yet though ſo much concerned, and ſurviving about Nine years, he hath not

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diſcovered that fulneſs of Falſhoods, *&c.* which he ſuggeſted; but tells his Readers that it is none of the Matter in Controverſie, whether he be good or bad: whereas it is certain, that a good Man would never ingage in ſo bad a Cauſe as he hath defended by his Perſonal Actions, as well as in many Writings; and he himſelf tells us, *That a true Deſcription of Perſons is much of the Life of Hiſtory*, p. 136. of his Life. *And an evil Tree cannot bring forth good Fruit.*

4. I plead not my own Cauſe, but the Cauſe of the Church and National Conſtitutions, and in truth of all Degrees of Perſons in the Nation: for this Hiſtorical Relation of his own Life, contains a virulent invective and grinning Satyr againſt all that live in conformity to the Eccleſiaſtical or Civil Laws; the King is repreſented as a Papiſt and Authorizer of the Iriſh Inſurrection; the Parliament is Tyrannical, making ſuch Laws as proved Taring Engines,

and ſuch as no Man fearing God could ſubmit to; the eſtabliſhed Order of Epiſcopacy as Antichriſtian; the Clergy as perjured and perſecuting Perſons; the Nobility and Gentry as ſtrengthners of Iniquity in the Land: And do not ſuch Scandals demand a Reply?

5. It is neceſſary to diſperſe thoſe Clouds and Umbrages with which he would cover his miſchievous Deſigns, his Pleas for Peace, firſt, ſecond, and third, and his *Only way of Concord*, being nothing elſe but Seeds of Diſcord and Confuſion; and neceſſary it was that ſuch ill things ſhould have good Names given them: thoſe that would propagate Schiſms and Hereſies need a Form of Godlineſs to ſet them off. *Arius*, *Aerius*, and *Donatus* were Men of good Learning, and as to appearance of good Lives alſo; yet the one moſt ſtrangely propagated that damnable Error of *denying the Lord that bought him*: and the other thoſe Schiſms which have divided the Body of Chriſt, his Church,

Church, to this preſent Age : 'Tis but an Artifice therefore of all Seducers, of which the Apoſtle forewarns us, 2 *Tim.* 3. 2,3. *That in the laſt days men ſhould be lovers of themſelves, covetous, boaſters, proud, blaſphemers, diſobedient to parents, unthankful, unholy, without natural affection; truce-breakers, falſe accuſers, incontinent, fierce, deſpiſers of thoſe that are good, traitors, heady, high-minded; lovers of pleaſures more than of God*; and all this under a Form of Godlineſs; and when even Satan can transform *himſelf into an Angel of Light*, it is no marvel if his Miniſters be transformed as the *Miniſters of Righteouſneſs.*

6. I remember that our Excellent Biſhop of *Worceſter* prudently foretold of Mr. *Baxter*, That *he would dye leaving his ſting in the wounds of the Church*; which Mr. *Baxter* hath abundantly fulfilled in this and many other of his Writings, which Stings muſt be pluckt out, or the Wounds which they

have made, will be ſtill kept open and bleeding; for though Mr. *Baxter* be dead, he hath done what he could to raiſe up, and arm a Succeſſion of ſuch a Generation of Diſſenters, as ſhall ſtill eat into the Bowels of the Church, and he hath provided a Magazine of Ammunition for them. Mr. *Sylveſter* tells us, How much *he was delighted in a hopeful Race of young Miniſters and Chriſtians; how much he valued young Divines and hopeful Candidates for the Miniſtry; how liberal he was of Counſel and Encouragement to them, and inquiſitive after, and pleaſed with their growthful Numbers and Improvement.* (And he told me) *that he had the greateſt hopes and expectations from the ſucceeding Generation of them, that they would do God's Work much better than we had done before them.* To which end he acquaints us, in the beginning of his Preface, That Mr. Baxter *left the orderly diſpoſal of his bequeathed Library to young poor Students.* So that here is a Fund pro-

provided for a perpetual Schiſm. And Mr. *Sylveſter* hath diſcovered a hidden Treaſure of Mr. *Baxter*'s, which he is improving as a Supply of Deficiencies, in another Volume.

Having ſhewn your Lordſhip the Reaſons of my Undertaking, I ſhall briefly give you an Account of what I have performed to fruſtrate theſe pernicious Attempts. Your Lordſhip knows, I have ſerved as a Veterane Souldier in theſe Parts of the Church Militant about Fifty years, and might now ſue for a Diſmiſſion (being ſomewhat elder than Mr. *Baxter* was when he left writing, which was, as Mr. *Sylveſter* ſays, *Seven years before his death*, when he was, as I compute it, Sixty nine years old, and I am now entred into the Seventy ſixth year) yet to excite and encourage men of greater Abilities, I have, as I were able, performed theſe two things.

Firſt, Whereas a great part of this, and other Writings of Mr. *Baxter*, as alſo of his whole Life, hath been ſpent in

in framing Objections againſt, and Defamations of our well-eſtabliſh'd Diſcipline and Liturgy, which he blameth as too confuſed for want of Method; and for its Matter (abſtracted from the Penal Laws) as abounding with Thirty or Forty ſuch tremendous things as a man fearing God could not comply with; though many men, ſuch as Dr. *Beveredge*, *Comber*, *Falkner*, and the Authors of the *London* Caſes, have convincingly Anſwered and Vindicated them; yet conceiving that none could ſo effectually confute them (*ad homines* at leaſt) as Mr. *Baxter* himſelf hath done, I recommended them that are unſatisfied, to the ſerious uſe of Mr. *Baxter's Laſt Legacy and Admonitions to Diſſenters*, lately printed, which if they would read without prejudice and malice, well weigh the force of his Arguments, they would do much right to Mr. *Baxter* and themſelves: For whoever ſhall think of oppoſing what Mr. *Baxter* hath ſaid in

Paſſion

Paſſion or heat of Diſputation againſt what is propoſed in thoſe Admonitions, will but ſhew how often *Mr. Baxter* hath contradicted himſelf; nor will any ſober Perſon, that hath ſound and wholſome Reaſons offered by *Mr. Baxter*, for the informing of his Judgment and Conſcience, paſs by thoſe and faſten on ſuch putrified Soars and Ulcers, and like the Horſe-leach, continue ſucking in Corruption till he burſts and dyes, when Salutary Food is provided.

Secondly, Whereas Mr. *Baxter* and his Admirers value him for his great Zeal and conſtant Endeavours for Catholick Charity, and particularly for Unity, Love, and Concord between all Parties in this Nation, I have ſhewn in this Abridgment of his Life, and moſtly *(ex Ore ſuo)* from his own Relations, that as much as in him lay, he hath made the Terms of Love and Union impoſſible; and that as he was a great Incendiary of our Unnatural Wars

Wars from the beginning to the end, having engaged ſome Thouſands in the Rebellion, and ſerved as a Chaplain to the Garriſon at *Coventry* in 1642. ſo he was a Chaplain to *Whaley* the King's Jaylor in 1647. ſo in our unchriſtian Diviſions, he hath been the moſt forward Agent and Diſputant (*Quorum pars magna fuit*, as teſtifieth Mr. *Sylveſter*) and that elaborate Hiſtory of Biſhops and Councils which he began to meditate in the Year 1640. and after many years was printed, to ſhew (as the Learned Dr. *Maurice* hath proved) how much he wanted of being a Scholar or a Chriſtian. For Mr. *Baxter* himſelf was afraid, leſt *that Hiſtory, as opened by him, ſhould prove a Temptation to ſome to contemn Chriſtianity it ſelf, for the ſake and crimes of ſuch a Clergy*, p. 181. part 3. And indeed they had been intolerable in any Nation, if they had been ſuch as Mr. *Baxter* repreſents them. But whoever ſhall conſult the Catalogues of Ancient

ent Hereſies, or the Hiſtories of Schiſms and Eccleſiaſtical Feuds and Tumults, (whether thoſe Sixty Hereſies reckoned by *Epiphanius*, or thoſe Eighty eight by St. *Auguſtine*, or thoſe greater Numbers by *Philaſtrius* and *Theodoret*: or thoſe Schiſms occaſioned by *Novatus* and the *Donatiſts*) will have a hard Task to prove any lawful Biſhop to be the Founder of any of thoſe Hereſies or Schiſms. It is evident therefore, that he hath endeavoured to ruine the Primitive Government of the Church, to raiſe a new Model of his own diſturbed Imagination. So that if there be any ſuch Sins as Schiſm and Rebellion, and ſuch as Endeavour to defend and perpetuate them are guilty, this *Dux gregis* may bear the Bell.

Yet leſt it ſhould be thought that I have diſquieted my ſelf and others in vain, and being an old Man, have dreamt a Dream, and Combat with Fears and Jealouſies of my own Imagination,

gination, let it be conſidered, That as of old a Man of *Gath* came forth, defying the Armies of *Iſrael*, ſaying, *Give me a man that we may fight together, and if he kill me we will be your Servants, but if I prevail againſt him, you ſhall be our Servants*; at whoſe words all *Iſrael* was diſmayed and greatly afraid, and the *Philiſtines* ſhouted and cried *Victoria*: So there hath been a Defiance publiſhed (in the Life of Mr. *Baxter*) to the whole Hoſt of *Iſrael*, whereat great Inſultation and Triumph among the Non-Conformiſts is heard in our Streets; and is there not a Cauſe why an obſcure Shepherd, how meanly ſoever he be otherwiſe armed, having got *Goliah*'s own Sword wherewith to fight him, ſhould enter the Liſts againſt him?

My Lord,

There is another ſuch Diſeaſe as the *Pica*, that hath infected both Sexes among us, and is become Epidemical; Mankind

Mankind ſtill longs for forbidden Fruit, they loath Manna, and require Meat for their Luſts. How hath that damnable Hereſie of the *Socinians* ſpread it ſelf of late, and corrupted the Faith of many, though the Authors are either unknown, or Perſons of a very ill Character, who, under the Name of *Deiſts* and *Unitarians*, deſign the Contempt of all Revealed Religion, and to unite us all in Atheiſm. But as Mr. *Baxter*'s Perſon was had in admiration among many Thouſands of his Proſelytes, ſo his Remains are eſteemed by them as precious and venerable, as any Relicks of the Bleſſed Virgin *Mary* by the Superſtitious Papiſts. Whatever raw and undigeſted Notions, uncharitable Cenſures, malicious Scandals, and falſe Hiſtories he hath uttered, are lickt up and ſwallowed by a giddy Multitude as Rarities and luſcious Dainties, and the Dictates of an Infallible Teacher.

I ſhall trouble your Lordſhip but with one Inſtance; Mr. *Baxter* hath aſſerted as paſt doubt, That the Marqueſs *Antrim* had a Commiſſion from King *Charles* the Firſt for Raiſing that *Iriſh* Rebellion, wherein Two hundred thouſand Proteſtants were Maſſacred; this is publiſhed again from Mr. *Baxter* by Dr. *O.* in the later end of his ſecond Εἰκων. And though the ground of this Report hath no other Foundation but a Libel publiſhed by ſome Regicides, yet the confirming it by two ſuch Evidences as Mr. *Baxter* and the Doctor, hath authorized it to paſs as Common Diſcourſe in Cabals and Coffee-Houſes. I cannot but wonder that the Doctor ſhould ſo little conſult for his own Credit; for who will regard his Teſtimony againſt other Perſons, who hath ſo confidently aſſerted ſuch a Blaſphemy againſt the Lord's Anointed; whatever he hath deſerved of the Nation by his former Evidences, he deſerves another ſort of Penſion

Penſion for this Scandalous Imputation; for we muſt blot out of our Calendar the Celebrated Memory of the Royal Martyr, or ſhew a Mark of our juſt Indignation againſt ſuch a One as hath ſo publickly affronted the Authority and Wiſdom of the whole Nation. *Pudet hæc opprobria.* This may be worthy of the Cognizance of the Parliament.

My Lord,

I am conſcious that I have moved a Neſt of Waſps and Hornets that will be buzzing about my Ears, but I am an old Man and hard of Hearing, ſo that I ſhall not be troubled with their Noiſe; and as for their impotent Stings, they have been ſo vainly ſpent on the Church of *England*, that they are become very Drones. And I well remember, that when the preſent Biſhop of *Worceſter* had provoked them by his incomparable Sermon againſt Separation, almoſt as ſoon as it was pub-

liſhed, a Forlorn Party of Reformado's appeared publickly againſt it; ſuch as *Humphries*, *Alſop*, *Lob*, a Country and City Non-Conformiſt, with Dr. *Owen* and Mr. *Baxter* as their Leaders, with their united Force beſet him, and railed lowdly againſt him, yet durſt not Attack him, but evaded his weighty Arguments. And Mr. *Sylveſter* in his Preface tells us, That *the preſent Archbiſhop*, *the Biſhops of* Worceſter *and* Ely, their greateſt Antagoniſts, *were expreſly mentioned by Mr.* Baxter *as Perſons greatly admired and highly valued by him; and of their readineſs to ſerve the Publick Intereſt*, *both Civil and Religious*, *he doubted not.* Yet ſuch is the Hypocriſie of theſe Men, that they will openly Scandalize and Defame ſuch Perſons (for the Edification of their Party) whom they inwardly approve of and admire for their Perſonal Vertues and conſtant Endeavours to ſerve the Publick Intereſt of Church and State. And though I deſpair of meriting

ing their good Opinion by what I have done, yet I have learnt to care leſs for their Calumnies and Reproaches, which though plentifully, and with great vehemence thrown out, will not ſtick.

And now, my Lord, begging your pardon for this tedious Addreſs, and too confident Interruption of your more important Affairs. I bleſs the good Providence of Almighty God, who under Chriſt the Great Shepherd and Biſhop of our Souls, hath placed me under the Tuition and Patronage of a Perſon of ſuch Primitive Courage and undaunted Reſolution, as hath conſtantly and ſucceſsfully ſtem'd that Spring-Tide of Popery and Socianiſm which was violently overflowing of us, and I truſt will as effectually withſtand thoſe raging Waves of Fanaticiſm, which ſo impetuouſly aſſault the Ark of God on every ſide, that we being delivered from the Hand of all our Enemies, may ſerve

God with one Conſent in Righteouſneſs and Holineſs all the Days of our Life, is the earneſt Prayer of

Exon, Jan. 1. 1696.

Your Lordſhips

Dutiful and Devoted

Servant,

Tho. Long.

THE

THE
Introduction.

I Think it reaſonable to give the Reader an Account how I became obliged to ingage in this troubleſome Adventure, and for his Satisfaction and my own Juſtification, I ſhall declare the firſt occaſion of my Conteſt with Mr. *Baxter*. It is generally known how many Books Mr. *Baxter* hath written to juſtifie that Separation which he, and others of his Perſwaſion, had printed, ſome of which he called *elaborate and unconfutable*; and as another *Goliah*, deſpiſed all the Hoſts of *Iſrael*, whoever appeared againſt him, was preſently born down with ſuch a Flood of Gaul and bitter Language, (whereof he had an inexhauſtible ſtore) that it was enough to affright any conſiderate Man from approaching near him; he was reſolved to have the laſt word to every Oppoſer; and his word was as Law and Goſpel to all his Party. Theſe Conſiderations occaſioned me to think of dealing with Mr. *Baxter* in ſome other Method; and having

ving read ſomething, and heard more of his ingaging in our late War, in which he continued well-nigh from the beginning to the end about 71 years, and had been preſent at moſt of the great Fights and Sieges in that war, as you will find hereafter from his own relation, I reſolved to be at ſome pains to trace his progreſs throughout the War; and becauſe I wanted opportunity to enquire it from others, and partly becauſe I might neither be truly or fully informed, either from ſome of the Party with whom he was, or the Party againſt whom he was ingaged, I thought it much more ſafe and unqueſtionable to relate ſuch of his Actions, and his Principles and Reaſons on which he acted, as I could glean up from his own undoubted Writings: which being done, though I now perceive I were in the dark, as to many other conſiderable Paſſages recorded by himſelf in his Life at large, I cauſed my Collections to be printed in the Year 1682. while Mr. *Baxter* was living, upon which he Reflects as followeth.

Mr. Long *of Exeter (if Fame miſreport not the anonimous Author) wrote ſo fierce a Book to prove me out of my own Writings to be one of the worſt Men living on Earth,* (full of Falſhoods and retracted Lines, and half Sentences) *that I never ſaw the like of it; and being overwhelmed with work, and weakneſs, and pains, and having leaſt zeal to defend a Perſon ſo bad as I know my ſelf to be, I yet never anſwered him,*

him, it being none of the matter in Controverſie, whether I be good or bad? God be merciful to me a ſinner. P. 188. of his Life.

Anſw. I will not gainſay his Conjecture of the Author of the Book in queſtion, which was intituled *The ſecond Part of the unreaſonableneſs of Separation*, which was printed 1682. The Book could not ſeem to be ſo fierce, being an account of his own Relations concerning his Actions and Writings, which if they repreſent him to be one of the worſt Men living upon Earth, I could not help that. Mr. *Baxter* himſelf, in his *Hiſtory of Biſhops*, pleads for his juſtification, *That he made uſe of their own words.* In the Preface to that Book he ſays, (in a Parentheſis) *That the Book was full of Falſhoods, retracted Lines, and half Sentences)* but that *he never anſwer'd it*, which is very ſtrange, ſeeing he lived above 9 years after he had peruſed the Book, in which interval he wrote ſeveral large Treatiſes, which leſs concerned him than that wherein he ſays he was ſo much miſ-repreſented: And in all probability, if the Book which he reflects on, had been ſo *full of Falſhoods, retracted Lines, and half Sentences*, he might, during that interval, have found leiſure enough to have given ſome Inſtances of what he pretended againſt, with his Plea of being *overwhelmed with work, weakneſs, and pains*, appears to be but a vain Excuſe, for he had zeal enough to defend himſelf againſt ſeveral others, that charged

him with much leſſer Miſcarriages. And it was very conſiderable to the Matter in Controverſie, whether the Perſon ſo fiercely accuſed were good, or bad? whether he were an honeſt, and peaceable Man? one wholly devoted to ſerve a private intereſt againſt the publick welfare? Mr. *Baxter* thought this a Reaſon why ſo many adhered to the Parliament, *That though the King had the Cauſe, the Parliament had the better Men*, Mr. *Baxter*'s Life, *p.* 37.

For my part, I ſhould have been extreamly confounded, if either Mr. *Baxter*, whilſt he was living, or any one ſince his death, could have diſcovered an hundredth part of that Fierceneſs, Falſhood, or imperfect Sentences in my Book, which Dr. *Maurice* hath obſerved in Mr. *Baxter*'s *Church Hiſtory of Biſhops*, wherein he ſtrikes at Chriſtianity it ſelf, by the Reproaches which he caſts on the Primitive Biſhops, calling them *A few turbulent Spirits*, p. 46. *ſilencing and deſtroying Prelates*, p. 73. *proud, contentious, ambitious, and hereticating Biſhops*, p. 77. *firebrands of the world*, p. 98. *mercileſs, furious, and confounders of Churches*, p. 183. Nor doth he deal more mercifully with our Dioceſan Biſhops, whom he calls *Silencing damning Prelates, Bryars and Thorns, and Military Inſtruments of the Devil.* Though in a good mood he ſaith, *That none of the Biſhops had ſilenced them, unleſs by voting as Peers in the Houſe of Lords for the Laws againſt Diſſenters, which yet*, ſays he, *all did not.*

not. Yet Mr. *Baxter* ſpares none: nor doth Dr. *Maurice*, in his *Vindication of the Primitive Church and Dioceſan Epiſcopacy*, in anſwer to Mr. *Baxter*'s *Church Hiſtory of Biſhops*, &c. ſpare him; for whoever reads the Preface to that Anſwer, and *Chap.* 8. *p.* 276. where he abundantly proves Mr. *Baxter*'s ignorance and ſcandalous imputation of the Hereſies, Schiſms, and Troubles which were raiſed by ſeveral Presbyters againſt their Orthodox Biſhops to thoſe Primitive Fathers, he will be of the ſame mind that I am, That there never was any School-boy more juſtly, though ſeverely chaſtiſed for any Fault, than Mr. *Baxter* is for that Treatiſe which he ſays is very elaborate and unconfuted.

Mr. *Baxter* in a Preface to his *Penitent Confeſſion*, *Sect.* 9. hath this Queſtion and Anſwer.

Queſt. *How ſhould one have the better of any Adverſary that blamed him?*

Anſw. Speak and do things that are moſt odious, as Perjury, Lying, Perſecution, *&c.* and cover them with Sacred Pretences; and then all that accuſe thee will be taken for uncharitable Railers.

This method Mr. *Baxter* uſeth for Confutation of his Adverſaries. Thus he anſwered the Biſhop of *Worceſter*'s Sermon againſt Separation, calling it *A Schiſmatical Sermon* in his Preface to his *ſecond Defence*, p. 12. and ſays, That the Biſhop's Book is made up, 1. *Of untrue Accuſations*; 2. *Untrue Hiſtorical Relations*; 3. *Fallacious*

3. *Fallacious Reaſonings:* And *that in writing that Book againſt the Biſhop, he felt ſo little Paſſion, that he thought verily that he ſinned all the while for want of a livelier ſence of the ſin and hurt which he was detecting by his Confutation.* And which is to be noted, in an Epiſtle Dedicatory to the Biſhop, he confeſſeth, *That he anſwered him in a manner that required his Patience; and if it was too provoking, he beggs his pardon.* But afterwards adds, *I doubt that I took advantage of his temerity, and confuted him in too provoking terms; and that ſome meer impertinent noiſe was made* (to his Anſwer) *by ſome one that is confuted.* But the Biſhop ſheweth what kind of Confutation it was, *p.* 59. of the *Hiſtory of Separation*; *Mr.* Baxter *diſcovered ſo much anger and unbecoming Paſſion, that I truly pitied him; and was ſo far from being tranſported by it, that it was enough to cure an indecent Paſſion, to ſee how ill it became a Man of his Age, Profeſſion, and Reputation; for he ſeems to have written the whole Book in one continued fit of anger.* For which, and the ſcurrility of his Preface, wherein having in twenty particulars deſcribed the moſt unskilful, proud, partial, obſtinate, cruel, and impertinent Adverſaries he could think of places of Scripture or Similitudes for; he thus concludes, *Though all this be not the Caſe of the Reverend Biſhop,* &c. which the Biſhop notes to be a malicious way of Reproaching, to name ſo many very ill things, and leave the Reader to apply as much

much as he pleaſeth. And in *p.*63.the Biſhop complains that Mr.*Baxter* ſays, *That his Principles overthrow all Religion*; *and that he was a ſecret Underminer of the Proofs of a Deity*, p.63. of the Biſhop's Preface.

After the ſame manner he confutes Biſhop *Morley*'s Letter concerning him; ſaying, *It is moſt ſhameleſs for untruths in publick matters of fact*; and adds (Ironically) *the Accuſer is a Member of the beſt Church in the World*; *but is this bundle of his groſs untruths, a proof that he is one of the beſt men in the World?* In the like manner he reflects on Biſhop *Patrick*'s *Friendly Debate*, *That his Book was ſo diſingenious and virulent, as cauſed moſt religious People to abhor it for the ſtrain, and tendency, and probable effects*, Baxter's Life, part 2.p.39. As for Dr. *Sherlock*, he thinks it Confutation enough of his former and latter Writings, *that they were virulent and ignorant*, p.198.of his Life,part 3. But Dr. *Sherlock*'s *Practical Treatiſes*, whereof we have many, are as ſound, pious, and uſeful, I need not ſay as any of Mr. *Baxter*'s, but as any other on ſuch Subjects as he hath written on; as of *Death* and *Judgment*, of *Providence*, &c. Dr. *Fulwood*, though Mr. *Baxter* had formerly commended him for a Learned Man; yet for ſome Reflections on his Book called *Sacrilegious Deſertion*, he calls him *railing Ruffian*, p.6. and his Reflections are a few confident ſilly Reaſonings: And *p.* 60. tells him of his *want of common ſence and modeſty*.

P. 113. part 1. of his Life, he ſays, That *Dr.* Pierce *wrote a bitter Book againſt him, full of malignant bitterneſs againſt godly men, and breathing out blood-thirſty malice in a fluent ſtile; abundance of lies are alſo in it againſt the old Puritans and me.* And that *he wrote a much more railing malicious Volume than the former, the livelieſt expreſs of Satan's image, malignity, bloody malice and falſhood, cover'd in handſom railing Rhetorick, I have not heard,* ſaith he, *of three ſuch railing men in* England, *as* Tylenus *junior,* Pierce *and* Gunning; *of the Jeſuits Opinion in Doctrinals, and of the old Dominical complexion; the ableſt men that their Party hath in all the Land; of great diligence in ſtudy and reading; of excellent oratory and temperate lives: but all their parts ſo ſharpned with a furious perſecuting Zeal againſt thoſe that diſlike Arminianiſm, high Prelacy, or full Conformity, that they are like Bryars and Thorns, not to be handled but by a fenced hand; breathing out threatnings againſt God's Servants better than themſelves, and ſeem unſatisfied with blood and ruins, and ſtill cry, Give, Give; bidding as loud Defiance to Chriſtian Charity, as every* Arius *or any Heretick did to Faith.*

I fear I have offended my Reader by ſpreading before him ſuch heaps of putrid and noiſome Garbage. But Mr. *Baxter* offering no matter of Argument (for how could he againſt his own Relations and undeniable Matters of Fact, except he had given himſelf the lye) I thought

thought nothing elſe needful but to ſhew the temper of the Man, and the uſual manner of his Communication, to convince the Reader that he too often calls evil good, and good evil; and ſupplies the want of Argument and Reaſon with Invectives and Railing.

As to his Charge that my Book was full of Falſhood, half Sentences, none was more concerned, or better able to have ſhewn a few inſtances, if the Book had been ſo full: And for quoting any retracted Lines, I never heard much of Mr. *Baxter*'s Retractations, though he had reaſon enough to have written as largely upon that Subject as St. *Auguſtine* did. I do not think that his expunging out of his Kalender of Saints the names of *Brook*, *Pym*, *White*, &c. amounted to a Retractation, becauſe he told us that *he did it not as altering his judgment of them, but becauſe it gave offence.* Yet Mr. *Baxter* ſhews reaſon enough to have expunged the Lord *Brook*; for *p.* 63. of Mr. *Baxter*'s Life, part 1. he ſays, *That the Lord* Brook *was known, and noted as* a groſs Sectary *in the Houſe of Peers, and Sir* Henry Vane *in the Houſe of Commons.* As for the retracted Lines in his *Holy Commonwealth*, it is evident that they alſo gave offence, but that his judgment of them was altered appears not. He ſeemed willing ſometime that ſome of his Maxims in that Book ſhould be taken as not written: but finding that he hath in other Writings ſince that, written much to the like purpoſe, I think he continued to be

be of the same mind that *Pilate* was, *Quod scripsi scripsi.*

Page 177. part 3. of Mr. *Baxter's* Life, he says, *In* June 1676. *Mr.* Jane *the Bishop of* London's *Chaplain, preached to the Lord Mayor, and turned his Sermon against* Calvin *and me, charging me that I had sent as bad men to Heaven as some that be in Hell; because I had said in my* Saints Rest *of* Brook, Pym, Hampden *and* White, *that I thought of Heaven with the more pleasure, because I should meet them there. This made me blot out those Names after* 1659. *not as changing my mind, but not to give offence.* For which Reason he should have blotted out those hard Speeches and uncharitable Sentences which there follow: *These damning Prelatists are for our Silencing, Imprisonment, and Ruine*; and *Factious Damners, that for preferment condemn good men, are ordinarily self-condemned.* Mr. *Baxter's* handling my Betters so rudely, makes me less concerned at his railing on me.

And this may satisfie the Reader why I took the pains to Review Mr. *Baxter's* Life, as written by himself; to enquire what Discovery he had made of Falshoods, retracted Lines, or half Sentences, of which I found not any Instance, which made me to wonder; because I found in the *Appendix to his Life*, p. 108, 109, 110, 111. a large and scandalous Letter directed to me, and dated *July* 26. 1678. wherein he calls me to an account for three

three Particulars which I had mentioned in my Examination of Mr. *Hales*'s Treatiſe of *Schiſm*, in which I repreſented Mr. *Baxter* as a Perſon of a peaceable Temper, and made uſe of his Arguments to confute thoſe of Mr. *Hales* which pleaded for Schiſm, for which he ought (as he ſeems to do in the beginning of his Letter) to give me thanks; yet he that reads that angry Letter, may perceive that he ſought occaſions to quarrel and defame me, when there was no Provocation given him: But when (he ſays) I repreſented him as the worſt Man on Earth, and that by Falſhoods, *&c.* he ſhuns the Occaſion of juſtifying himſelf, or proving any of his Accuſations againſt me.

A

PREFACE

Concerning the

Power of Prejudice.

IT *is a Caution neceſſary to be obſerved by all Chriſtians, which St.* Paul *gives us*, 1 Cor. 3. 21. Not to glory in Men; (i. e.) *not to prefer the Parts or profeſſed Piety of ſome Men, ſo as to contemn or deſpiſe the Miniſtry of others. The reaſon of which he gives us*, verſ. 4. For while one ſays, I am of *Paul*, and another, I am of *Apollo*, are ye not (*i. e.* ye are) carnal? *This partiality begets* Envying, Strife, *and* Diviſions; *which are the works of the Fleſh: And this Prejudice cauſeth men to be* puffed up *one againſt another*, chap. 4. 6. *as the* Corinthians *were on behalf of falſe Teachers, to an oppoſition of the Apoſtles themſelves. This St.* Jude *obſerves to have been the fault of the Gnoſtick Diſciples, who* had the Perſons of Seducers in admiration, becauſe of advantage; (viz.) *the liberty, impunity, and temporal accommodations which were*

 permitted

permitted and promised by them. And by such means St. Paul *observes, that his* Galatians, chap. 3. 1. *were so* bewitched, *that they* obeyed not the Truth. *And* Tertullian *deservedly chides the Christians in his Age*; And ex personis probamus fidem, an ex fide personas? *De Præscript. c.* 3. Do we approve of the Faith by the Persons of Men, or of their Persons by the Faith? *The Faith* once delivered to the Saints, *should always be the Rule by which we judge of the Ministry of Men.* Though we or an Angel from Heaven preach any other Gospel unto you, let him be accursed, *Gal.* 1. 8. *There are many false Teachers that* transform themselves into Angels of Light, *and mix some precious Truths with their* damnable Errours. *But if they teach any thing for Doctrine contrary to the Word of God, any Doctrine that tends to Impiety, Disobedience, or Divisions, it is our duty to* reject, *and withhold Communion from them, be their parts never so excellent, and their pretences never so plausible; lest it fares with us as with those silly Larks, who being first taken with the glitterings of the Glass, do play so long about it, till they are also taken in the Net to their destruction.*

It is a good Rule which Mr. *B.* says he had learnt (but practised not) to contradict Errours, but not meddle with Persons. *Page* 107. *part* 1. *of his Life.*

For being once dogmatized and captivated by Men of ill Principles, it will prove a matter of great difficulty to extricate our selves. If we consider

conſider how rare a thing it is for Men of great Learning, and perhaps of good Conſcience too, to deliver themſelves from thoſe Snares in which by Education and Cuſtom, by Prepoſſeſſion and Carnal Prejudices, they have been involved: whereof St. Paul *himſelf, being bred up as a Phariſee, may be an inſtance; for whoſe Converſion no leſs than a Miracle was thought ſufficient. And no other account can be given, why ſo many Learned Men in the Church of* Rome *do, againſt Scripture, Reaſon, and Senſe, believe and defend ſuch great Errours as they generally do, but the tyranny of Prejudice and Education: for,* quo ſemel eſt imbuta recens ſervabit odorem teſta diu. *The ways which we are trained up in from our youth, we will not depart from when we are old: For, as* Juſtin Martyr *obſerved, Cuſtom having once got the advantage of long continuance, inſinuates Errors and Impoſtures into the Minds of Men, under the notion and repreſentation of Truth; and ſome Men have told lyes ſo long, that at laſt they have believed them to be truths. And Scripture it ſelf doth intimate that it is morally as impoſſible for a Man to* learn to do well, *that hath been* accuſtomed to do evil, *as for an* Ethiopian to change his skin, or a Leopard his ſpots. *And* Origen *affirms, that of all Cuſtoms, thoſe* περὶ τὰ δόγματα *concerning Opinions and Matters of Doctrine, are moſt prevalent: for when other Advantages do conſpire with our received Opini-*

Non Ratione componitur, ſed conſuetudine. *Senec. Epiſt.* 123.

ons, facile credimus quod maxime volumus: *and our religious Opinions being rivited into our minds by the weighty Arguments of temporal and eternal Happiness, it must be a power above that of Nature to vindicate us from the Captivity. Hear Mr.* Baxter *on this Subject:* Take heed of ſuffering Fancy and Opinion to go for Reaſon, and raiſe in your Minds unjuſtifiable Miſtakes of any Way or Mode of Worſhip. It is wonderful to ſee what Fancy and Prejudice can do! Get once a hard Opinion of a Thing, and your Judgments will make light of all that is ſaid for it, and will ſee nothing that ſhould reconcile you to it. Partiality will carry you away from Equity and Truth. Abundance of Things appear now falſe and evil to Men that once imagiue them to be ſo, which would ſeem harmleſs (if not laudable) if they were tried by a Mind that is free from Prejudice. *Chriſt. Direct. p. 66. part 3. Our Saviour alſo forbids us to call any Man* Father *or* Maſter *upon Earth, ſo as to make them the Authours of our Faith*, Matth 23. 9. For this is the *Genius* of all Sectaries, *ſaith Dr. Manton on* Jude 16. to cry up all of their own way as Gnoſticks, (*i.e.*) Men of great Knowledge, as if none were to be compared to them; and as *Tertullian* ſaid, *Illuc ipſum eſſe eſt promeriri* it were Religion enough to be one of their Party.

Now ſuppoſe that I had made this Diſcourſe to a Papiſt, you cannot but think it reaſonable that

he

he ſhould, in a matter of ſo great concern as his Salvation, make diligent inquiry whether the Principles in which he hath been inſtructed from his youth, be agreeable to the Rules of Godlineſs revealed in the Holy Scriptures, and whether he ought to believe and practiſe all things which the Doctors of that Church require of him, particularly concerning the Infallibility and Supremacy of the Pope, the giving of Divine Worſhip to conſecrated Wafers, to Saints and Images; or concerning Prayers to Saints, and for the Dead, and that in an unknown Tongue, &c. *And there is as great reaſon for ſuch as have been educated under erroneous Parents, or Teachers in Heretical or Schiſmatical Principles, notwithſtanding their too great credulity and fond opinion of the Perſons and Opinions of their Leaders, to have recourſe to the Word of God, and ſearch the Scriptures, whether the Dictates that they ſo tenaciouſly adhere unto, be agreeable to them or not.* Amicus Socrates, Amicus Plato; ſed magis Amica veritas. *Let the Perſons be never ſo neerly related to us, and their Opinions never ſo well approved by us, yet if they be contrary to the revealed Will of God, we ought to reject them. And if this practice be neceſſary, as to the National Church wherein we are educated, (every one being bound to* give a reaſon of the Hope that is in him, *and not to give himſelf up to an implicite Faith, to believe as the Church doth believe) much more is it our duty in thoſe parts of Religion wherein we differ from the eſtabliſhed Profeſſion, when*

it is oppugned by private Perſons, be they Parents or Teachers: for as it is probable that they may err, ſo it may be juſtly ſuſpected that they do err, when they lead us into ſuch Opinions and Practices as have been condemned by the generality of Chriſtians from the moſt primitive and pureſt times of the Church; which they that do err from, will moſt vigorouſly oppoſe, as knowing that if they ſhould appeal to them, they will moſt certainly be condemned by them.

Of this ſort are the avowed Opinions and Practices of Mr. B. *and many other Writers of this Age; and to know well the Authors of them, will be a means to undeceive us, and ſet us right in our Judgment of their Writings, who have cauſed the many Controverſies and Confuſions which have diſturbed the Peace and good Order both of our Church and State. To which end I did compoſe ſuch a Character of* the Man and his Communication *with whom I had to do, as he had in ſeveral Treatiſes left upon record; for the informaion of ſucceeding Ages, as well as for the undeceiving of the preſent; unto which I have now added ſeveral conſiderable Relations from the Hiſtory of his Life written by himſelf.*

A REVIEW OF Mr. Baxter's LIFE.

CHAP. I.

THE *Engliſh* Nation heard little of Mr. *Baxter* until the beginning of the late unnatural War in the Year 1640. when Mr. *B.* ſays he conceived a Prejudice againſt Biſhops, and from that time meditated on that Hiſtory of Biſhops which was printed *Anno* 1680. of which Hiſtory Dr. *Maurice* ſays, that it ſeems to be written to ſhew how much Mr. *B.* wanted of being a Chriſtian or a Scholar; for therein, through their ſides, he

wounds Christianity it self, by imputing all the Mischiefs that had troubled the Christian World to that Sacred Order. As he doth also all the Confusions which for Twenty years together kept the Nation wallowing in Blood, and the Church rent in pieces by divers Sectaries, as by so many Evil Spirits, crying, *Down with it even to the ground.* Yet Mr. *B.* confidently asserts in several Papers, *That the War was begun between the Episcopal Parties, the one adhering to Archbishop* Whitgift, *and the other to Bishop* Laud; *and that the Parliament, the Army, and Assembly, consisted generally of such as were* (he should have said, *such as had been*) *Conformists.* I shall not, to disprove him, repeat what others have said, who refer the rise of it as far back as King *James*, in whose Reign the Parliaments were divided into *Regians* and *Republicans*, as *Wilson* reports; who tells us of many Disputes between Prerogative and Priviledge. There was a Party that perswaded that King and his Son to a War for recovery of the *Palatinate*; and having engaged them, denied them the assistance which was promised, intending to work upon their Necessities. And where other Parliaments left, that of 1640. begun, as Mr. *B.* says. But Mr. *B.* brings the Matter *ab origine*, *p.* 32. of his Life, thus: *Our Reformers, in the days of Q.* Mary, *being fled to* Frankford, *fell into a division, one part were for Dioteſans, the* English *Liturgy and Ceremonies, that*

that they might no more than needed depart from the Papists, nor ſeem unconſtant by departing from what King Edward *had done. The other were for* Calvin's *Diſcipline and Worſhip, ſetting up Parochial Diſcipline inſtead of Dioceſan; that Queen* Elizabeth *did countenance and ſet up the Dioceſan Party. The other Party,* as Mr. *B.* elſewhere ſays, *flew in the Faces of the Biſhops with bitter Revilings.* And he notes, *That the Biſhops were* Jewel, Pelkington, Grindal, *Men of great Learning, good Preachers, and of Holy Lives; but the Diſciplinarians petitioned againſt their Eſtabliſhment till they were by Law ſuppreſſed: but this lamentable Breach,* Mr. *B.* ſaith, *was never healed.* Here obſerve that the War was not begun by two Epiſcopal Parties, as Mr. *B.* often affirms; for this was in truth the Origine of that War, All the Nonconformiſts were againſt the Prelates, *p.* 33. Sometimes he ſays it was for Reformation, and to recover our Liberties, to relieve the Country, and to puniſh Delinquents, *p.*25. of his Life. And then it was begun by the Parliaments ſtirring up Apprentices in great numbers to Petition with them; and that theſe went tumultuouſly to *Weſtminſter*, and meeting with ſome Biſhops, cried out, *No Biſhops*, p. 26, 27. and crying for *Juſtice*, drove the King from *Whitehall.*

Again he ſays, the War was not founded in Theological Differences, but Law Differences. Letter to Mr. *Hinckley*, p.25. *The firſt*

open

open beginning was about the Militia, ſays Mr. *B.* And how then did the Biſhops begin it? The Commons wreſted it from the King, and by one Order after another, ſeized his Forts and Magazines, the *Tower* of *London*, and his Navy: Had any of the Biſhops a hand in this? They all did, and now do own, That the ſole command and diſpoſition of it is, and by the Laws of *England* ever was the undoubted Right of his Majeſty; and that both, or either of the Houſes of Parliament, cannot nor ought to pretend to the ſame. They were ſuch Conformiſts who begun the War, as Mr. *B.* who taught, *That the Law that ſaith the King ſhall have the Militia, ſuppoſeth it to be againſt Enemies, and not againſt the Commonwealth, nor them that have a part in the Soveraignty; and to reſiſt him here, is not to reſiſt Power, but Uſurpation and private Will. And where the Soveraignty is divided into ſeveral hands, as into King and Parliament, and the King invades the other part, they may lawfully defend their own by War, and the Subject lawfully aſſiſt them; yea, though the power of the Militia be expreſly given to the King, unleſs it be alſo expreſſed that it ſhall not be in the other.* H.C. W. Theſ. 363.

Another beginning of the War was a Confederacy with the *Scots*, then in the Bowels of the Nation, with whom the King was informed that ſome of the Parliament held Correſpondence with. The Earls of *Eſſex*, of *Warwick*,

wick, Bedford, Clare, Bullingbrook, Mulgrave, Holland, the Lords *Say* and *Brook*, and many more, were ſaid to be of this Confederacy, *p.* 17. of *B*'s Life; with the five Members and *Kimbolton*; whom the Parliament and City protected from the hands of Juſtice, and procured and countenanced armed Tumults. Mr. *B.* makes an Objection, *p.*474. of *H.C.W. That Tumult at* Weſtminſter *drove him* (*i. e.* the King) *away.* Anſw. *Only by diſpleaſing, not by endangering, or medling with him:* though the King tells us otherwiſe in his Chapter of *Tumults*, to which I refer; and obſerve Mr. *B*'s Account, *p.*19. of his Life, *That too great numbers of Apprentices and others, emboldned by proceedings of Parliament, not fore-knowing what fire the ſparks of their Temerity would kindle, did too triumphingly and diſorderly urge the Parliament* (*as they had done the King*) *crying, Juſtice, Juſtice: the King called theſe*, Tumults; *the Parliament called them* City Petitioners; *which in the end did more than diſpleaſe the King.* So that his Report of an Epiſcopal War was but a Dream of his own, though he affirms he was as ſure of it as of any thing that he ſaw: yet elſewhere he ſays, no Man can tell where, and when, and by whom the War was begun. *Confeſſions* p. 61.

Mr. *B.* knows another ſort of five Members that begun the War, who were no Epiſcopal Men; I mean the *Smectymnuans*, who wrote ſo inſolently and pedantickly againſt that meek,

meek, pious, and learned Biſhop *Hall*: And how *Iſaac Pennington* brought a Petition of 15000 *Londonners* againſt Archbiſhops, Biſhops, *&c.* which was ſeconded by the like from ſeveral Counties: And on *March* 10. 1640. a Bill is read in the Houſe againſt Epiſcopacy, and their Vote in Parliament taken away, and many of them ſent to the *Tower* for entring a Proteſt for their Priviledge. Did any of the Biſhops call in the *Scots*? or promote the Covenant? or ſit in the Aſſembly? who were choſen to that very end, that they might ſtir up the People to aſſiſt the Parliament againſt the King. Though all theſe things be left on Record, yet Mr. *B.* thinks by his bare Authority to perſwade the preſent and ſucceeding Generations, that the War was begun by Biſhops, and carried on by a Parliament, an Army, and Aſſembly of Conformiſts: yet to excuſe the Presbyterians, he ſays *p.* 26. that the Separatiſts and Anabaptiſts began the War.

Mr. *B.* will not ſay that Biſhop *Hall* (whom he ſo frequently commends) had any hand in the beginning of our Wars; nor will he ever be able to perſwade others, that what he hath written and publickly delivered, as Matter of Fact, in the beginning of our Troubles, is falſe. I therefore refer the Reader to that Treatiſe written with his own hand, *May* 29. 1647. having firſt given you part of a Speech delivered by this excellent Prelate in the Houſe of Lords,

p. 425.

p. 425. of his *Remains* — *My Lords, It is a foul and dangerous Insolence which is now complained of to you (in the Petitions against Bishops) but it is but one of an hundred of those which have of late been done to the Church and Government. The Church of* England, *as your Lordships cannot but know, hath been and is miserably infested on both sides; with Papists on one side, and Schismaticks on the other. The Psalmist hath of old distinguished the Enemies of the Church into* wild Boars out of the Wood, *and* little Foxes out of Burroughs; *the one whereof goes about to root up the very Foundation of Religion, the other to crop the Branches, and Blossoms, and Clusters thereof: both of them conspire the utter ruine and devastation of it. As for the former of them, I do perceive a great deal of good zeal for the remedy and suppression of them; and I do heartily congratulate it, and bless God for it, and beseech him to prosper it. But for the other, give me leave to say, I do not find many that are sensible of the danger of it, which yet in my apprehension is very great and apparent. Alas, my Lords, I beseech you to consider what it is, that there should be in* London, *and the Suburbs and Liberties, no fewer than fourscore Congregations of several Sectaries, as I have been credibly informed, instructed by Guides fit for them, Coblers, Taylors, Felt-makers, and such like Trash; which all are taught to spit in the face of their Mother the Church of* England, *and defile and revile her Government. From hence*

have

have issued those dangerous assaults of our Church Governours; from hence that inundation of base and scurrilous Libels and Pamphlets wherewith we have been of late over-born, in which Papists and Prelates, like Oxen in a Yoke, are still matched together. O, my Lords, I beseech you to be sensible of this great indignity; do but look on these Reverend Persons: Do not your Lordships see here sitting on these Benches, those that have spent their time, their strength, their bodies and lives, in preaching down and writing down Popery; and which would be ready, if occasion were offered, to sacrifice all their old blood that remains, to the maintenance of that Truth of God which they have taught and written: And shall we be thus despightfully ranged with them whom we do thus professedly oppose? But alas, this is but one of those many scandalous Aspersions and intolerable Affronts that are daily cast upon us. My Lords, if these Men may with freedom and impunity thus beat down Ecclesiastical Authority, it is to be feared they will not rest there, but will be ready to affront Civil Power too. Your Lordships knows that the Jack Straws, *and* Cades, *and* Wat Tylers *of former times, did not more cry down Learning than Nobility; and those of your Lordships that have read the History of* Munster, *will need no other Item*, &c.

Bishop *Hall's* hard measure, *p.*45. *Nothing could be more plain, than that upon the Call of this Parliament, and before, there was a general Plot and Resolution of the Faction to alter the Government,*

ment, of the Church especially. The Parliament was no sooner sate, than many vehement Speeches were made against the established Church Government, and enforcement of extirpation Root and Branch. It was contrived to draw Petitions accusatory from many parts of the Kingdom against Episcopal Government; the Promoters of the Petitions were entertained with great respects. The Petitions of the opposite Party, subscribed with many thousand hands, were slighted and disregarded. The Rabble of London were stirred up to come armed by thousands to the Houses, offering foul Abuses, crying out, No Bishops, no Bishops; and professed they would pull the Bishops in pieces. The House of Lords sent Messages to disperse them; they hold on. The Marquess of Hartford told the Bishops they were in great danger, advising them to continue in the House that night. Messages were sent to the House of Commons, but nothing done for their security. At last the Earl of Mancheſter undertook the protection of the Archbishop of York and his Company; and the rest, by long stay and secret passages, escaped home. This Archbishop perswades the Bishops to petition his Majesty that they might be secured in the performance of their Duties, and to protest against such Acts as should be made during their forced absence. He drew up the Petition and Protestation in our presence, avowing it to be legal, just, and agreeable to former proceedings, and got our Subscriptions: And whereas this Paper was first to have been delivered

ed to his Majesty's Secretary, then to his Majesty, and after to the Parliament, by the Lord Keeper; these professed they never perused it; and the Lord Keeper, to ingratiate himself with the House of Commons and the Faction, reads it in the House of Lords, aggravates the matter as highly offensive, and of dangerous consequence, and so sends it to the House of Commons; where Glyn *cries it up for High Treason, yea, preferring it to the Powder Plot. The Bishops are called to the Bar on their knees, charged with High Treason, and on* Jan. 30. *at eight a clock in the Night, in extremity of Frost, voted to the* Tower. *The Citizens entertained the News with Bells and Bonfires. While we were under restraint, the Faction renew the Bill which had been twice rejected to take away the Bishops Votes in Parliament, and prevail. Their greatest Lawyers were employed to advance our Impeachment to the highest, but found nothing to fasten on us: One of their Oracles professed they might as well accuse us of Adultery as Treason. The House of Commons, who first desired we might be brought to a speedy Trial, suffered us to languish: at last, on our Petition we obtain it. Our Impeachments being read, we plead* Not guilty modo & formâ, *and desired speedy Trial. A day is appointed.* Wild *and* Glyn *aggravate our pretended Treason; which our Counsel being ready to answer, we were put off to another day, which never came. The Circumstances of that days hearing were more grievous than the substance: we were*

all

all thronged ſo miſerably in that ſtrait Room before the Bar, ſweating, and ſtrugling with a mercileſs Multitude; and when diſmiſſed, expoſed to a new and greater danger: for in the dark we muſt back to the Tower, *and ſhoot the Bridge with no ſmall peril: There we lye, expecting new Summons; but the Parliament wave their Impeachment of Treaſon, and accuſe us of High Miſdemeanours; and in a Bill preferred againſt us, deſire our Spiritual Means may be taken away. After ſome Weeks more, finding the* Tower *to be chargeable, we petition for Liberty on Bail: the Lords grant it, and we were freed; but the Commons hearing of it, expoſtulate with the Lords for freeing us without their conſent; ſo we are remanded to the* Tower. *Having tarried there from* New-years-eve *till* Whitſontide, *where by turns we preached every Lord's-day to a great Auditory of Citizens, upon our Petition and* 5000l. *Bonds, with a Clauſe of Revocation at a ſhort warning, we were diſmiſſed.*

From this Relation the indifferent Reader may perceive how far the Biſhops were from beginning the War, who ſuffered moſt of theſe Indignities before the War begun; and how cauſleſs and ſhameleſs the Clamours of Mr. *B.* and his Party, concerning their perſecution by Biſhops are, when they openly affront the known Laws, by keeping up publick Conventicles in the chiefeſt Cities of the Nation; and thoſe Reverend Biſhops were ſo barbarouſly treated by their Predeceſſors, a-

gainſt all Law and Humanity. And I deſire the Reader to obſerve, whether from the year 1660. to this preſent time, it hath not been his chief work to pour out the like Contempt, Malice, and Violence, as was begun in 1640. and as *Quintilian* ſays, *Maledicus à Malefico non diſtat niſi occaſione.* From theſe Injuries to the Biſhops, they proceeded to abuſe and affront the King, and force from him his two principal Counſellors, whom they by unparallel'd proceedings cut off as their moſt formidable Enemies. And having driven the King away by Tumults, they endeavour by Remonſtrances, Declarations and Propoſitions, to make his Return impoſſible. In *June* 42. the Faction ſends a Petition with Nineteen Propoſitions to his Majeſty; to which he made many gracious Conceſſions, as he was ready to do, even to the one half of his Prerogative, to prevent that Deluge of Blood which he foreſaw would follow on the War. *Out of theſe Conceſſions*, ſaith Mr. *B.* (and likely he knows by whom) *there was framed a Catechiſm that would juſtifie the Parliament in all their proceedings againſt the King.* Yet many of thoſe Propoſitions were ſuch, as his Majeſty declared he could neither in Honour nor Conſcience conſent unto. One was, ſaith the Royal Martyr in his Chapter of the Nineteenth Propoſition, *To bind my ſelf to a general and implicite conſent to whatever they ſhall deſire or propound; which were as if* Sampſon *ſhould have con-*

conſented not only to bind his own hands, and cut off his hair, but to put out his own eyes, that the Philiſtins *might with the more ſafety mock and abuſe him; which they choſe rather to do than quite to deſtroy him, when he was become ſo tame an Object and fit Occaſion for their Sport and Scorn.* This uſe Mr. *B.* and the Faction make of all his Majeſty's Condeſcenſions. *The King's Anſwer to the Nineteen Propoſitions greatly confirmed many, that his declaring that the Legiſlative Power was in King, Lords, and Commons, and that the Government was mixt, and not Arbitrary; but as ſoon as the Parliament aſſumed it, they exerciſed as Arbitrarily as ever Tyrant did.* But let them take in alſo his Majeſty's Conceſſions at the *Iſle of Wight*, when his Life was in ſuch apparent danger, and make a ſecond Edition of that Catechiſm: And I ſuppoſe there cannot be a more full Juſtification of his Majeſty's real deſires of Peace, who granted ſo much; nor a clearer demonſtration of their intentions for War, who would accept of nothing leſs than an abſolute Surrender of the whole Soveraign Power; and having ſeized that, they could not be ſecure without his Life alſo. P. 37. *B's* Life.

This may ſuffice (there being ſo many Hiſtories of the riſe of our late Civil Wars, eſpecially that of Mr. *Dugdale*) to diſprove Mr. *B's* Paradox, *That the War was begun by Epiſcopal Men*; which the very taking and preſſing

of the Covenant by them that begun the War doth ſo plainly overthrow, that Mr. *Baxter* ſays, *None but young Men and Foreigners will believe.* Were they Epiſcopals that Voted down Epiſcopacy, before the War was began, Root and Branch? Or they who petitioned the King at *York* for aboliſhing Epiſcopacy and Common Prayer? Were the *Smectymnians* Epiſcopal Men? or the Covenanters? or the Aſſembly? and Directory-men? Yet theſe begun and continued the War. Let the Reader judge what Credit is to be given to Mr. *Baxter* in other Relations, who aſſerts a notorious Falſhood in a Matter of Fact, as well known to himſelf, as to every Rational Man in the Nation. For this, and ſeveral other Reaſons, I am tempted to believe that he was as far from approving our Epiſcopacy at the time of his Ordination, as at the time of his Death: For the Biſhop demanded of him theſe two Queſtions; *Will you maintain and ſet forward, as much as lyeth in you, quietneſs, peace, and love among all Chriſtian People, eſpecially among them that are or ſhall be committed to your charge.* Anſw. *I will ſo do, the Lord being my helper.* Again; *Will you reverently obey your Ordinary, and other chief Miniſters, to whom the Government and Charge is committed over you, following with a glad mind and will their godly Admonitions, and ſubmitting your ſelf to their godly Judgments?* Anſw. *I will ſo do, the Lord being my helper.* But whether

ther he more induſtriouſly performed theſe Solemn Vows, or perfidiouſly acted againſt them, let the impartial Reader judge?

I now apply my ſelf particularly to Mr. *Baxter's* Actions in relation to that War. That Mr. *Baxter* hath obtained the Vogue of a numerous fry of Sectaries, who though they differ among themſelves in many conſiderable Points, yet agree to own him as their Champion, is no more than what the Anabaptiſts of *Munſter* did for *John* of *Leyden*, or our Engliſh Sectaries for *Cromwel* and *Hugh Peters*. That he ſtill profeſſed a great love to Peace, and zeal for Religion, while under a Form of Godlineſs he helpt to deſtroy the Power of it, his own Actions will evince. It is neceſſary indeed, that whoever will ſet up for an Arch-Heretick, Schiſmatick, or Rebel, ſhould, beſides many plauſible Pretences for Reforming Errours and Grievances in Church and State, have ſome ſtock of Reputation, as well for Knowledge as Purity, to buoy them up in the Opinion of the People, who moſtly judge according to appearance. The Devil and his Inſtruments could never accompliſh their ends of diſturbing well-eſtabliſhed Churches and Kingdoms, if they did not transform themſelves into Angels of Light; and not only guild over their poiſonous Pills with a ſhew of Gold, but mix ſome ſavoury Ingredients with them. Mr. *Baxter* hath in like manner written divers Practical Books with ſpecious

Titles, for Peace, Holineſs, and Self-denial: and happy it had been for himſelf and the Nation, if he had publiſhed *them* only; but theſe being laid as Baits in the way of the Vulgar, to make them ſwallow his *Polemical Writings*, which are but ſo many Hooks and Snares to draw them in, and retain them in Rebellion and Schiſm; our Nation would be leſs in danger of new Flames, if they were all conſumed to aſhes. Neither Men nor Books, nor any thing elſe, is properly good, but what is ſo *ex cauſis integris*. And when his own practice demonſtrates that his Writings for Peace and Unity are but ſo many Pleas for Schiſm and Diviſion; and like the Egyptian Temples, however beautiful in the Porches and Outſides, are full of Serpents and Crocodils within, which a multitude of People do adore; they do not only need an *Index*, but an *Ignis expurgatorius*, to ſecure the People from them. There needs no other Argument to undeceive the People, as to his Pretences for Peace and Unity in the Church of God, than his furious acting in, and arguing for that moſt unnatural War againſt the King. And I dare challenge any Hiſtorian that hath obſerved or read the Tragedies of the late Times, to ſhew a Parallel in any one Perſon (I ſay, not only amongſt the Apoſtate Clergy, but the Laity, and the worſt of them) that may equal Mr. *Baxter*. Who is there among the Living, that entertained more early Prejudices againſt the

the Biſhops? that left his Calling, as a Miniſter of Peace, and entred with the firſt into the War againſt the King? and for four years ſpace (which was the heat of the War) was an Agent as well as an Eye-witneſs of moſt of the terrible Battles that were fought in *England?* Who ever boaſted of drawing ſome thouſands to that War? Who hath ſaid more to juſtifie not the War only, but the Death of the Royal Martyr? Who more oppoſed the Return of our preſent Soveraign? or hath been as active in making the Government uneaſie? or who hath or can do more than Mr. *Baxter* to renew all our Troubles and Confuſions? So that I could not deviſe a better Epitome of the late Rebellion and Schiſm, than this account of Mr. *Baxter*'s Actions and Writings, which is an Abſtract of the Riſe and Progreſs of both; in whom they yet both live, and with whom I wiſh they may both die.

Had any Man publiſhed the like Paſſages as are here related upon his own Credit, they would have been thought a Satyrical Eſſay, or Romantick Fiction; but being the products of his own Hand and Pen, and the lively Idea of his very Soul and Spirit, it is impoſſible any Man can repreſent him a more vile Perſon, than he hath done himſelf in that which followeth.

P. 39. of his Third Defence, he ſays, *I was not bred in* Wales *nor* Ireland, *but in* Shropſhire, (leſt men ſhould ſuſpect he had been a

Jesuite or Tory.) *In my Childhood I was first bred up under the School and Church-teaching of eight several Men, of whom two only preached once a Month, the rest were but Readers of the Liturgy, and of very scandalous Lives.* (Introduction to the *Hist. of Episc.*) Mr. *Baxter* began to be a *Censor morum* before he was at the age of Ten; but being now above Seventy, either Gratitude or Charity should have obliged him to spare the Ashes of them that had been long dead, and to say nothing, or no ill of them: and probably some of them deserved better things; but *Ingratum si dixeris*, &c. His first Master, he says, was a Reader never at any University, and preached once a Month: of him (being allied to Mr. *Baxter*, and because he mended) he says no more, but leaves us to conjecture, by what he says of the rest. *From the Age of Six till Ten, I had four School-masters Curates of the place successively, that read Common-Prayer; two never preached, the other two seldom; but the two more learned drank themselves into beggary, and left us.* The like he says of one Mr. *Yale* B. D. who drank himself, Wife, and Children to stark beggary. After the Age of Ten, he says, *p.* 58. of his late *Apol.* he came to live at the habitation of his Ancestors, (but names not the place:) the Curate there was another of his School-masters, who, he says, never preached but once in his time, and then he was drunk in the Pulpit. *After that I fell into the hand of*

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a Teacher that ſtudied for Preferment, and reviled Puritans (it ſeems his love to theſe, tranſported him againſt all good Manners to ſpeak ſo ill of his Maſters:) *at length I was taken into the Tuition of a grave and eminent Man of high eſteem among great Men, who expected verily to have been a Biſhop. He loved me well, but ſo far fruſtrated my expectation, that in two years time he neither read to me, nor inſtructed me one hour, but diſcourſed uſually of the unlearned factious Puritans: in his Study, which was all my help, I remember not one Greek Book but the Teſtament; nor one Father but* Auſtin de Civitate Dei; *nor any of the Councils, but ordinary Engliſh and Neoterick Divines: And he ſtudied little all the year but Biſhop* Andrew's *Sermons. Hitherto,* ſays Mr. *Baxter, I had no Non-conformiſts Principles.* I know not of what Age Mr. *Baxter* was then; but at Nineteen he tells us he had a diſtaſte againſt Biſhops as Perſecutors (as he had alſo againſt his Maſters for reviling of Puritans.)

N.B. This was before he was Ordained.

Pref. to *Cathol. Theol.* p. 2.

If any ſuſpect that his Father infuſed the Principles of Non-conformity, he denies that his Father ever ſcrupled any Point of Conformity, or ſpake againſt it, which is a bare Negative; yet he was reviled by the Drunkards and Rabble by the Name of *Preciſian* and *Puritan*, as bitterly as any Non-conformiſt now. But whether Mr. *Baxter* made his Father a Rebel,

bel, or his Father him, he tells us his Father was twice taken Priſoner; and Mr. *Baxter's* firſt Adventure was, to ſeize the Perſon of a Neighbour, to be an Exchange for his Father; but *quo warranto* I find not. You ſee how early Mr. *Baxter's* Spirit was fermented with Principles of Faction and Sedition. At Fourteen years of Age he Cenſures the Reverend and Learned Biſhop *Morton: I went my ſelf* (ſaith he) *at Thirteen or Fourteen years to the Worthy* (but unworthily dealt with) *Biſhop* Morton, *with the reſt of the School-boys* (for Confirmation) *without any Certificate, and without any Examination.* (But I ask Mr. *Baxter*, Did your Maſter, who was alſo a Miniſter, firſt Examine you and the reſt? And how know you but he certified your Names to the Biſhop, who all know was a Man of Piety as well as Learning, though you ſay) *He haſtily ſaid, as he paſſed on, three or four Lines of a Prayer over us, when I knew not what he ſaid.* This was Mr. *Baxter's* fault, not the Biſhop's, no more than that he conſidered not what he Subſcribed to at his Ordination: But he was an *Ariſtarchus*, a controler of Biſhops at Fourteen: and at Nineteen his Palate was ſo vitiated, that he diſtaſted them altogether as Perſecutors.

Now of what Univerſity Mr. *Baxter* was, and where he got that ſtock of Learning which he hath ſo prodigiouſly ſcattered, to his own, as well as the Nations great trouble, he menti-

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ons not, nor can I inform my ſelf. His chief Tutors were thoſe (of whom *p.* 59. of his *Apol.*) *Three neighbour Miniſters, venerable for Age, dying two of them above Eighty, and the third near it, were my moſt profitable Acquaintance; theſe were very worthy godly Conformiſts, who kept me from the Principles of Non-conformity. One of them was a Learned great Diſputer for Conformity, and my chief Tutor.* But what kind of Conformiſts they were, Mr. *Baxter* tells you in a Parentheſis, (*Though they had all three much rather been rid of it,* (*i.e.* of Conformity) *and ſo were before they died.*) They were ſome of Mr. *Baxter*'s Paſſive Conformiſts, who waited an opportunity to be Active in ruining the Church. Mr. *Baxter* now bethinks himſelf of entring on the Miniſtry; and (to remove his Scruples which he had entertained ſo early againſt Biſhops, &c.) his chief Tutor engaged him to read Dr. *Burges*, Mr. *Sprint*, Biſhop *Downam*, *Hooker*, &c. *So that I was not at all in doubt of the matter; and with this ſatisfaction I* WAS ORDAINED, AND DID SUBSCRIBE. But I verily believe never made Conſcience of performing what he Subſcribed to; for he confeſſeth he had never read any thing on the other ſide, nor ever read the Book of Ordination, nor exactly weighed what he ſubſcribed to, though at that time I ſuppoſe he was about Twenty four. And whether he was made only Deacon then, as is probable, or was ever

ever ordained Presbyter after, I cannot find. Bishop *Morton*, who Ordained him, acted very regularly; and to what Order Mr. *Baxter* was admitted, doth not appear: it was not usual to grant both Orders at once, especially to Persons that never had been at any University: For Mr. *Baxter*, in his Penitent Confession, *N.* 8. reckoneth among his Sins his strong inclination to have setled at the University, till he had attained some Eminency of Learning and Degrees; and accounts it a great Mercy that he was hindered and saved from that danger and loss of time. And I ground my Suspicion on what Mr. *Baxter* says, That he Baptized none in Twenty years, and gave the Lord's Supper to none in Eighteen years, *p.*62. & 86. of Answ. to the Bp. of *Worcester*. No serious Presbyter could think but he incurred the Wo for not Administring the Sacraments, as much as for not Preaching the Gospel: For at his Ordination he promised to give faithful diligence so to Minister the Doctrine, Sacraments, and Discipline of Christ as the Lord commanded, and as this Realm, received the same; which he could not do, who renounced Communion with our Church, and omitted the Administration of both Sacraments for Eighteen years. See the Bp. of *Worcester*'s Historical Account of Separation, *p.* 151. His first setting up was in another Country, among divers private poor Men that were very zealous Non-conformists: Against these

theſe he pretends he was a forward Diſputer, and by writing againſt a Miniſter of theirs about kneeling at the Sacrament, ſilenced the Opponent: and in his Diſputations for Conformity, he thought he had ever the better. But theſe Men brought him to reſolve to read the Writings of both ſides impartially, eſpecially Dr. *Ames*'s *Freſh Suit*; whereupon he ſetled in the Judgment which he never ſince changed, about Liturgy and Ceremonies. But ſtill he was abſolutely for Epiſcopacy as it is with us, till 1640. when the new Canons with the *&c.* Oath came out; which was the very thing that occaſioned ſuch Non-conformity as he is guilty of.

Though he had conceived a Prejudice againſt them long before as Perſecutors, *viz.* when he was 19 years old.

About this time 1640. Mr. *Baxter* having no Benefice, as he tells us, and perhaps for that reaſon among others being a reſolved Non-conformiſt, betakes himſelf to *Bridge-North*, a Town in *Shropſhire*, conſiſting of ſix Pariſhes, moſt of them great ones; which were under an Ordinary and Court of their own, exempt from the Biſhops Juriſdiction; ſo that he never uſed Croſs nor Surplice, (his Subſcription notwithſtanding) having liberty to forbear them. He had no inclination to a Paſtoral Charge (*p.* 13. of his Life) Subſcription, almoſt as ſoon as he made it, he began to judge un-

See *pag.* 73. of the Treatiſe of Epiſc. and *pag.* 60. of his Apol.

unlawful, *p.*14. and while he was at *Bridge-North*, he never adminiſtred the Sacrament, nor Baptized with the Sign of the Croſs, nor wore the Surplice, *ibid. p.* 14. This place he choſe to make the Stage for that Prologue which uſhered in the following Tragedy. To ingratiate him with the People, there is a Report ſpread that it rained Manna at his coming thither. From the Oath mentioned in the Canon, he takes the Plot of his firſt Scene, which was this: *Though every Miniſter in the Country* (ſaith Mr. *Baxter*) *was for Biſhops as well as himſelf, yet they were ſo ſtartled by the Oath*, (or rather by Mr. *Baxter*, who was reſolved to oppoſe it) *that a Meeting is appointed about it*; *for* (N. B.) *the Meeting was to be on his Lecture-day, and it was his lot to be the Opponent*; which was too much for one Man, to preach the Lecture and manage the Diſpute, had not Mr. *Baxter* been over-zealous. Mr. *Baxter*, *p.* 27. of his Life, ſays overdoing is undoing. To magnifie that days exploit, he ſays, *The Defendant was Mr.* Chriſtopher Cartwright, *a good Man, and incomparably beyond him in Learning, the Defender of King* Charles *the Firſt againſt the Marqueſs of* Worceſter, *and the Author of the Rabinical Commentary on* Geneſis, *whoſe Papers of Juſtification*, ſaith he, *I ſince anſwered.* All theſe Titles he gives Mr. *Cartwright*, to enhance his own Victory, which he eaſily obtained: *for though my Objections*, ſaith Mr. *Baxter*, *were none*

none of the ſtrongeſt, yet the Miniſters thought that he failed in anſwering them, ſo that they broke up more dubious; (*i.e.*) more diſſatisfied as to Epiſcopal Government than before. And thus the Learning and Reputation of Mr. *Cartwright* were made Trophies to adorn Mr. *Baxter*'s Victory. *The Scotch Covenant* (he ſays) *was not the firſt impoſed on us* (that would have been ſwallow'd without chewing, though impoſed without Authority:) but this, though required by lawful Authority, he was prepared and reſolved to oppoſe. *P.* 37. of his ſecond Defence againſt the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, Mr. *Baxter* ſays he was *ſo well acquainted forty years ago with many aged Nonconformiſt Miniſters as his familiar Friends, that he knew their minds*, (and probably was confederate with them) which was about the beginning of the late War, in which he was ſo active, that he encouraged ſome thouſands, and by the Loyal Party was lookt on as a dangerous Perſon; for he complains that *they often ſought his Life by unjuſt Accuſations, though God delivered him*, Poſtſcript to true Cath. *p.*312. And now if it appear not by his own Narrative of his Education what put the Principles of Non-conformity into his Head, yet that which follows will plainly evince what Prejudices againſt Conformity had poſſeſt him from his youth, as well againſt the Government of the Royal Martyr, as againſt his Eccleſiaſtical Superiours; to both which, by many actual

actual Oaths, as well as other *Legal Oblations*, he was bound to yield obedience, but acted and wrote most violently against them. *P.* 84. He boasteth of his Success in converting Souls; *Before I entred on the Ministry, God blessed my private Conference to the Conversion of some. In the beginning of my Ministry I was wont to number them as Jewels, but since I could not keep any number of them*; *when* (saith he) *the Reverend Instructors of my Youth did labour fifty years together in one place, and could scarcely say they had converted one or two of their Parishes.* This is too uncharitable a Censure of Reverend Mens Labours for fifty years together. Let others judge, whether he thought not too highly of himself. He turned many from the Church to Schism and Faction; and incouraged Thousands, he says, to ingage in the War against the King. If his Converts were such, he had no reason to glory in the number of them.

His Treatise of Diocesan Bishops, he says, was meditated in the year 1640. that is, at the same time he entred into a War against the King, he broached Faction in the Church. His Pen disdained to be less active than his Sword. And it is probable his *Church History* had its Conception at the same time: for as they were born near together, so no Twins are better like. On these, his Meditations have been more or less employed ever since. In every Treatise almost (for he hath written to the

the number of Eighty) we are told of the Pride, Oppreſſion and Cruelty of the Biſhops: and in his five Diſputations of Church Government, we have a Model of this *Babel*; for the erecting of which, he hath aſſembled all the *Arian* Heretical Authours that he could hear of, ſuch as *Philoſtorgus*, *Sondius*, &c. and out of them he quotes only the worſt things, omitting what is left on Record concerning the Learning, Piety, Courage, Patience, Charity and Condeſcenſions of thoſe Fathers and Martyrs *of whom the world was not worthy:* he notes only the Calumnies of their Adverſaries, or thoſe Infirmities which their Zeal for Truth againſt Errour, and their Love of Peace againſt Faction, might diſcover in them. And contrariwiſe, ſpeaking of their Adverſaries, whether *Arians*, *Neſtorians*, *Donatiſts*, *Novatians*, &c. he commends them as good and well-meaning Men, miſtaken only in the manner of expreſſing themſelves, applauding them for their holy and ſtrict Lives, without any notice of their *damnable Errours*, though they *denied the Lord that bought them.* And thus he hath dealt with the Councils and Ancient Fathers, to whoſe Decrees he imputes all the Troubles which were occaſioned in the Church by thoſe Hereticks and Schiſmaticks that oppoſed them, not taking any notice how great a Fence thoſe learned and godly Men were to the Church of God, as well againſt Heathen as Hereticks, whom they reſiſted e-

ven to Blood. So that Mr. *Baxter* hath not reproached them only, but Chriſtianity it ſelf, and repreſented the Diſcipline and Authority of the Church, as not to be ſubmitted to, or tolerated in the World. And this he doth by the whole Order of Church Governours, that he may make ours the more odious. He ſays, (as in divers places) *p.* 252. & 253. of *Saints Reſt*, That *the firſt rage of the Prelates in ſilencing as learned able Miniſters, and inceſſantly perſecuting as godly Chriſtians as the World enjoyed, was* (juſt before the War begun) *increaſed an hundred fold.* P. 251. *As I am certain by ſight and ſenſe, that the extirpation of Piety was the then great deſign which ſo far prevailed, that very many of the moſt able Miniſters were ſilenced, Lectures and Evening Sermons on the Lord's-day ſuppreſſed, Chriſtians impriſon'd, diſmembred, and baniſhed:* (He ſpeaks as if it were done by Heathen, for no other cauſe but as being Chriſtians:) *That it was as much at leaſt as a mans Eſtate was worth, to hear a Sermon abroad, when he had none (or worſe) at home; to meet for Prayer, or any other godly Exerciſe; and that it was a matter of Credit, and a way to Preferment, to Revile and be Enemies to thoſe that were moſt Conſcientious, and every where ſafer to be a Drunkard or an Adulterer, than a painful Chriſtian; and that multitudes of Humane Ceremonies took place, when the Worſhip of Chriſt's Inſtitution was caſt out, (beſides the ſlavery that invaded us in Civil reſpects.)*

reſpects.) So I am moſt certain, that this was the Work which we took up Arms to reſiſt; and thoſe were the Offenders whom we endeavour to offend. You ſee Mr. *Baxter* is armed with Prejudice and Zeal *Cap-a-peé* for a War, wherein to reſiſt his Superiours, under a pretence of Reformation, though to that Reſiſtance the Word of God threatens *Damnation.* Yet Mr. *Baxter*, p. 271. ſays, *As I cannot yet perceive but that we undertook our Defence upon warrantable grounds, ſo I am moſt certain, God hath wonderfully appeared through the whole.* (Succeſs was the great Argument;) of which p. 250. *Having been an Eye-witneſs of a very great part of the eminent Providences from the firſt of the War, I have plainly ſeen ſomething above the common Courſe of Nature, in almoſt every Fight that I have beheld. The War* (ſaith Mr. *Baxter*) *was begun in our Streets, before the King or Parliament had any Armies, between the Puritans and drunken Rabble that hated the Parliaments Reformation; and ſo I was forced to be gone before the Wars. And a Man that was more pious and devout than the Multitude, could not live by them in moſt places, but were forced into Garriſons and Arms to ſave their Lives,* p. 252. of *Saints Reſt*, (i. e.) in plain Engliſh, Mr. *Baxter*, with the other Reformers, put themſelves into Arms, and ſeized the King's Forts, making them Gariſons againſt the King.

I desire the Reader to reflect on this part of the Narrative. Mr. *Baxter* often accuseth the Conforming Clergy with deliberate Lying and Perjury. What was it in Mr. *Baxter* being prejudiced against the Bishops at Nineteen, yea against Bishop *Morton* at Fourteen, being familiar with Non-conformist Ministers, and knowing their Minds, yet to submit to Episcopal Ordination, and Subscribe and Swear to obey the Bishop in *licitis & honestis*, and presently omit the Cross and Surplice, and dispute openly against Bishops, and prosecute and defend the War against the King, against the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy; and when his taking of Holy Orders seems to be for no other end but to inable him to do the more mischief: Was not this to be deliberately perjured? But to go on, (he says in cold blood) *His engaging in that War was the greatest outward Service that ever he performed to God: That Neutrality had been sinful; and to have been against the Parliament in that Cause, had been Treachery*, p. 481. of *H. C. W.* And *p.* 480. *If I had known that the Parliament (in that Cause) had been the beginners, and in most fault, yet the ruine of our Trustees is a punishment greater than any fault of theirs* (though it were the cutting off his Head) *against a King can deserve; and that their faults cannot disoblige me from defending the Commonwealth. I knew the King had all his Power for the Common Good, and none against it; and therefore that no Cause*

can

can warrant him to make the Commonwealth the Party which he ſhall exerciſe Hoſtility againſt: and that War againſt the Parliament, eſpecially by ſuch an Army, in ſuch a Cauſe, is Hoſtility againſt them, and ſo againſt the Commonwealth. All this ſeemed plain to me, and eſpecially when I knew how things went before, who were the Agents, how they were minded, and what were their purpoſes againſt the People. Would not this Man have made a better Solicitor againſt the Royal Martyr, than *Cooke* (who ſaid he was *another Solomon for his parts?*) Did *Cromwel* or *Bradſhaw* ever object ſuch things againſt him as Mr. *Baxter* hath done? Who could think that Mr. *Baxter*, who pretends for ſo much Peace, was ever a Man of ſuch a Temper? With what heart could he be an Eye-witneſs of the Humane Butcheries that were made in almoſt every Fight from the beginning of the War? or with what Face could he ſay there appeared more of Chriſt's Intereſt on the one ſide than on the other, as in the firſt occaſion, ſo in the Proſecution? p. 252. of *Saints Reſt.* And again, *Whatever the end may prove, I am ſure I have ſeen the Lord in the means*, p. 251. And, *That as we undertook our Defence on warrantable grounds, ſo I am moſt certain God hath wonderfully appeared through the whole*, ibid. He ſays in the Epiſtle, he was wonderfully reſcued from many dangers in four years Wars; and after many tedious nights and days, and many doleful ſights and tidings, he and

many of his *Kederminſters* (whom he, it ſeems, had led on to the War) were returned in peace; that he was twenty ſeveral times delivered when he was near to death. *O the ſad and heart-piercing Spectacles*, ſays he, *p.* 115. *that mine eyes have ſeen in four years ſpace! In this Fight a Friend fall down by me, from another a precious Chriſtian brought home wounded or dead*, (precious Chriſtians, no doubt, that died in ſuch a horrid Rebellion;) *ſcarce a Month, ſcarce a Week, without the ſight or noiſe of Blood. Surely there is none of this in Heaven; our eyes ſhall then be filled no more, nor our hearts pierced with ſuch Fights as at* Worceſter, Edge-hill, Newbury, Nantwich, Montgomery, Horn-Caſtle, Naſeby, Langport, *&c.* (it ſeems he was preſent in theſe Fights:) For he adds, *Mine eyes ſhall never more behold the Earth covered with the Carcaſſes of the ſlain.* And he ſaith, He had *travelled over the moſt part of* England (to purſue the War.)

Illi robor & æs triplex circum præcordia.

Mr. *Baxter* ſays the War began firſt in their Streets at *Kederminſter*, between thoſe that would have pull'd down Painted-glaſs and Pictures, and the People that oppoſed them; which Parties were ſo violent againſt each other, that he was forc't to fly for his Safety. And having been a while at *Bridge-North*, ſome Parties of the King's Soldiers frighted him

him from thence to *Coventry*; and as ſoon as he heard of *Eſſex*'s Army at *Worceſter*, he went and tarried there until *Edge-hill* Fight; and the next Morning hearing that *Eſſex* won the Field, he went to ſee the Slain, and after that he took up his quarters at *Coventry*, and ſtaid with the Governour in his Houſe preaching as Chaplain to the Garriſon for a whole year, *p.* 43, 44. of his Life. From thence he went to *Wem* in *Shropſhire* to ſettle a Garriſon there, and procures Thirty or Forty of his Neighbours to enter themſelves under Col. *Mackworth* to ſtrengthen that Garriſon. But *Wem* being taken, he follows the Parliament Army which marched towards the *Weſt*, where firſt he fully deſcribes the Fight at *Langport*, and ſays he was next to Major *Harriſon* when the flight of *Goring*'s Army was begun; and *Goring* marching towards the *Weſt*, Mr. *Baxter* tarried at the Siege of *Bridgwater* and *Briſtol*. The Siege of *Briſtol* continuing about a Month, he was taken ſick of a Fever after the three firſt days; but being recovered, he came back to *Briſtol* Siege three or four days before it was yielded, *p.* 55. He was alſo at *Naſeby*, and went to ſee the Field two days after the Fight, *p.* 50. He alſo followed the Army that went Weſtward in purſuit of the Lord *Goring*, and ſays he was three Weeks at the Siege of *Exeter*, and then returned with *Whaley*'s Regiment, which was ſent to ſtreighten the Garriſon of *Oxford*, in order to a Siege; he

quarter'd two Months at *Banbury* and *Agmondesham* in *Buckinghamshire*. *N.* 1. of his *Penitent Confessions*, he says, While he was at *Coventry* he went out twice with the Army; once to take in *Tamworth* Castle; and then to besiege *Banbury* Castle, whence we were driven home with some loss.

P. 58. When the Siege of *Worcester* was over, he went to *London* for his health; though he said the riding in the Army did him most good of any thing, *p.* 10. And from *London* he returned to his quarters in *Worcestershire*, and from thence to *Leicestershire*, *Staffordshire*, and *Darbyshire*; and then back again to *Leicestershire*, and was three weeks at *Nowel's* House, and a quarter of a year at the Lady *Rouse's* in *Worcestershire*. So that for the space of Seven or Eight years he constantly pursued the Wars, tho he had been very often in danger of his Life. But though he carried on the War with great Zeal and Vigour amidst many dangers against King *Charles* the First, yet he is not ashamed to tell the World, *p.* 68. That when King *Charles* the Second marched by *Kederminster* towards *Worcester*, Col. *Graves* sent two or three Messengers to him, as from the King, to come to him; and afterwards sent others from *Worcester* to invite him thither: He refused to go because he had sore Eyes.

Twice, he says, the Season called him to endeavour for the King; once at the *Worcester* Fight,

Fight, and at Sir *George Booth's* Riſing, *but I durſt not meddle on either ſide, becauſe I foreſaw the Diviſions, Silencings, Perſecutions and Calamities which the Biſhops and other revengeful Inſtruments would bring to the Kingdom.* It ſeems his Prejudice againſt the Biſhops, bound him up from doing his Duty to the King, when he was actually ſent to by Col. *Graves.* See his *Neceſſary Vindication*, Reply to Accuſ. 6.

Had not Mr. *Baxter* told us the contrary, we might have thought he had been born in *Ireland*, and nurſt up by ſome ravening Wolf, that could ſee the Death of ſo many of his Friends who died in Rebellion, and were like to periſh eternally as well as temporally; and ſo many Loyal Nobles and Gentry periſh in their Integrity, ſome perhaps by his own hand, but many probably by his procurement, without any regret, and pleaſe himſelf with the meditation of it; yea, and aſcribe all to the eminent Providences of God, above the ordinary way of God's working. *Matth.* of *Weſtminſter*, p. 71. of his Hiſtory, That *Richard* the Firſt, in the French Wars, took among other Priſoners *Richard* Biſhop of *Beaux* near his own City, who was preſented to the King in his Armour as he was taken; and being impriſoned, the preſent Pope wrote to the King an angry Letter, chiding him for impriſoning his dear Son, and requiring him to ſend his dear Son home to him. The King

detains

detains the Biſhop, and ſends only the Armour in which the Biſhop was taken, willing him to conſider whether that were his Sons Coat or no.

Reader, you ſee here a little Man, (*David* ſome account him) but in the Armour of *Goliah*; and as he, *a Man of War from his Youth*, defying the whole *Iſrael* of God, ſaying, *Give me a Man that we may fight together:* his confidence in his Armour, which is all of Braſs, ſo cloſe knit with Lies, Contradictions, and Slanders, that as the Scales of the *Leviathan*, you can ſcarce diſcern any ſpace between them. Let the Reader take a full view of him, and then tell me whether he be a Child of Peace, or a Man of War. Do theſe things ſavour of an Evangelical Spirit? or are theſe fit Meditations for one that was penning *the Saints Everlaſting Reſt?* Well may he talk of it: But ſuch Men as Mr. *Baxter*, and *Brook*, (who was actually ſlain in the Rebellion) *Pym*, *Hamden*, and *White*, &c. who were perpetually tormenting themſelves and others in an unnatural and bloody War, without timely and ſerious Repentance, could never enjoy it; though Mr. *Baxter* place them all there, with many more ſuch precious Chriſtians.

As to Mr. *White*, this Apoſtate Presbyter is another of Mr. *Baxter*'s white Saints, who boaſted that he and his Fellows had turned out near Eight thouſand Miniſters out of their Freeholds, contrary to the *Magna Charta*, the

the *Petition of Right*, and the *Proclamation of* Charles *the Firſt* againſt the Oppreſſion of the Clergy by the intruſion of Schiſmatical Perſons into their Cures, mentioned in *Bibliotheca Regia*, *p.* 324. And when the Parliament had incouraged the Mob to bring in Articles againſt their Miniſters, he began his infamous Centuries to blacken the Reputation of the ejected Miniſters with thoſe falſe Imputations with which their factious Pariſhioners accuſed them, but never proved againſt them. We have printed Catalogues of the *London* Clergy, the Heads of Houſes in both Univerſities, as alſo of the Biſhops and Dignitaries, *&c.* then Ejected as Scandalous and Inſufficient. Miniſters who were Men of Extraordinary Merit, both for their Lives and Learning; ſuch as Biſhop *Juxton*, *Morton*, *Hall*, *Coſin*, *Prideaux*, *Davenant*, *Brownrigg*; and Dr. *Sanderſon*, *Hammond*, *Holdſworth*, *Hinchman*, *Sheldon*, *Morley*, *Gillingham*, *Maſon*, *Duppa*, *Howel*, *Hacket*, *Weſtfield*, *Featly*, *Walton*, &c. of whom the Age was not worthy, were forced to forſake their Families and Relations, and to wander up and down, and ſeek their Bread in unknown Places and Foreign Countries. Yet Mr. *Baxter* approves of theſe barbarous Actions, and takes it for one of the beſt things they could do to caſt out theſe, and to put in ſuch as he calls better in their places. See *p.* 78, 79. of his *Apology*, where he tells us what ſort of Perſons were

put

put into the Cures of the Ejected Clergy. *In my Opinion*, says he, *the Sequestring Ministers being mostly young Men in the Universities, that had nothing of their own, could not else get Bread and Clothing, much less Fire and House-room.* Many of these thought it a good work, yea a very good work to cast out those as Insufficient and Scandalous, and having a lawful Call to the Work, they thought they had so to the Salary. And when these Sequestrators were forced by the approach of the King's Army to leave their Cures to their proper Owners, Mr. *Baxter* thinks these the Usurpers before God, and that they were bound, if possible, to make Restitution of the Tithes and Maintenance which they had received, as much as if they had broke mens Houses, or robbed by the High-way. See Dr. *Pearce* against *Baxter*, § 26.

Mr. *Baxter* affirms, That if Bishops, who come in by the King's Nomination, and not by the Majority of the People, shall impose inferiour Pastors on the Parish Churches, and command the Peoples Acceptance and Obedience, the People are not bound to accept and obey them as such, nor is it Schism to Disobey, no more than it is Treason to Reject the Usurper of a Kingdom. So that Mr. *Baxter* pronounceth, as well the King as the Bishops, and all Ministers Presented by them, or other Patrons, to be meer Usurpers. *This is*, as the Bishop of *Worcester* says, *an excellent*

Plea

Plea for Peace, p. 138, 139. of the Hiſtory of Separation.

I cannot omit to inform the Reader (becauſe I my ſelf, and ſome thouſand others, yet live to contradict him) how falſly, as well as maliciouſly, he calumniates the happy and peaceable Reign of the Royal Martyr: for ſo it was, until the times of Mr. *Baxter*'s unhappy Reformation. We read, *Ezra* 3.12. *When the Foundation of the ſecond Temple was laid, the People ſhouted: but the Prieſts and Levites, and chief of the Fathers, who were ancient Men, that had ſeen the firſt Houſe, wept with a loud voice.* I cannot, without a fit of Grief and Pain, look back upon thoſe (over-proſperous) times, wherein Peace and Truth did ſo flouriſh, that we were the Envy of our Neighbour Nations; and until groundleſs Fears and Jealouſies diſtracted us, this Nation was as *Jeruſalem, a City at unity within it ſelf.* Every one *ſate under his own Vine*, and under God's Vine too. There was no decay of Trade, no leading to Captivity, till we began to ſurfeit of our Plenty, and to grow ſick of Peace, and to loath Manna it ſelf; and then God gave us up to the [illegible]ls of ſuch Phyſicians as had the skill only to let us Blood, but never the Art to ſtaunch it, till all our Strength and Beauty, all our Liberties, Properties, and Religion were paſt recovery by the Wit of Man; and God himſelf did it by a Miracle from Heaven. And yet this Man of Peace (forſooth)

to

to whom (and ſuch as he) we owe the loſs of all our Bleſſings, and all the Damages done to Church and State, is at every turn defaming thoſe happy Times, complaining of Perſecution of Chriſtians, and Slavery in Civil Reſpects. See what he ſays, *H. C. W.* p. § 7. *The Peoples Rights were evidently invaded; many Thouſands have ſuffered, or were forced to remove out of the Land, upon the account of illegal Impoſitions*; (and though he himſelf obſerves the contrary, *p.* 88. of his *Apol.*) *Miniſters were ejected and puniſhed for not bowing towards the Altar, for preaching Lectures, and twice on the Lord's day*; (whereas the Canon only required, that they who uſed that Ceremony, would not deſpiſe them that uſed it not, *&c.* obliging no Man) *and the Afternoon Sermon was only to be exchanged for a Catechize Lecture.* The Preachers that were ſilenced were moſtly *Browniſts* and *Anabaptiſts*, or ſuch as were prohibited to preach at *Norwich.* One was a Draper, another a Taylor, a third a Weaver, as appears by the Regiſter there. If any Miniſters were ſilenced, they were ſuch, as contrary to their Subſcriptions and Solemn Vows, refuſed Conformity, and preacht up Sedition and Schiſm, which no Government could endure. Nor were any puniſhed, but for preaching or practiſing Sedition and Faction, which was then ſo ſtrong as to affront the Laws, and within a little while to deſtroy them and the Government both

both in Church and State. To diſmiſs this Book of the *Saints Reſt*, which was his firſt and his beſt, as he thought himſelf: for *if Mr.* Creſſy (ſaith he) *had read no better than my Saints Reſt, the Life of Faith, the Divine Life, the Chriſtian Directory*, &c. *he would never have gone from the Proteſtants to Popery, for want of an affectionate Spiritual Devotion.*

I would willingly prevail with Mr. *Baxter*, that as in a later Edition of his *Saints Reſt*, he left out the mention of *Brook, Pym, Hamden*, &c. *as Members of a more knowing, unerring, well-ordered, right aiming, ſelf-denying, unanimous, honourable, triumphant Senate*; ſo if he liv'd to ſee another, he would leave out thoſe unſutable Paſſages which I have mentioned, and change them for ſuch as this in the Epiſtle: *I ſhall leave you my beſt advice for your immortal Souls, as the Legacy of a dying Man; receive it as from one that unfeignedly loves you, as if I offered it on my bended knees, yea, as one that hath received Authority from Chriſt to command you: I charge you in his Name, as you will anſwer it when we ſhall meet at Judgment, that you faithfully and conſtantly practiſe theſe Directions*, (whereof this is one:) *Above all, ſee that you be followers of Peace and Unity, both in the Church, and among your ſelves. I differ from many in ſeveral things of conſiderable moment; yet if I ſhould zealouſly preſs my judgment on others, ſo as to diſturb the Peace of the Church, and ſeparate from my Brethren, I ſhould fear*

fear leſt I ſhould prove a Ferebrand in Hell, for being a Firebrand in the Church. And for all the intereſt I have in your Judgments and Affections, I here charge you, that if God ſhould give me up to any factious Church-rending courſe, that you forſake me, and follow me not a ſtep.

No ſooner had the Preebyterians excluded the Biſhops, and their Directory the Liturgy, but *the Lord's Prayer* is alſo exploded as a thing of no uſe, either for matter or form: for the men of that Age thought it not Spiritual enough for ſuch over-grown Chriſtians as they were, being adapted only to the Nonage of the firſt Diſciples: Nor was it ſufficient to diſuſe it, but they poured out all the Contempt they could upon it, both from their Pulpits and the Preſs. Dr. *O.* was ſo tranſported with the *In-dwelling of the Spirit*, that at the ſame time when he wrote againſt the *Socinians*, he wrote alſo againſt the uſe of our Lord's Prayer. And this Anticriſtian Practice prevailed ſo far, that the People generally refuſed to teach it their Children: Some gave God thanks they had forgotten it; and if any ſober Clergy-man did conclude his own Prayer with it, a great part of his Auditory would preſently depart out of the Church, as if it were impoſſible for them to be edified by ſuch a Preacher as had no better Gift of Prayer. And thus to make a thorough Reformation, they firſt agreed on no more Addreſſes unto God, before they Voted no more Addreſſes to the

the King. The Creed and Commandments ſuffer the ſame Indignities, being generally omitted in their Publick Worſhip; and in many places, eſpecially at their Lectures, ſcarce a Chapter of the Holy Scripture read to the People; the whole Exerciſe being made up of Extemporary Prayer and Preaching: the beſt of their Sermons, if I may account them ſo that are printed, and were preached in the greateſt Congregations on moſt Solemn Occaſions, abounding with ſuch Invectives againſt the King, ſuch Arguments and Motives to Rebellion and Shedding of Blood, as will be an indelible Reproach to the Presbyterian Party, who ſo taught others the Doctrine of Reſiſting their Superiours, that they ſoon felt it to be practiſed againſt themſelves, who had broken down all the Fences of Government, and opened thoſe wide Breaches by which ſo many Hereſies and ſo great Confuſion overflowed the Nation; ſo that the Pulpit-Drums exceeded thoſe of the Field in doing Miſchief, drawing on more Souls to Deſtruction than the other did Bodies.

Mr. *Baxter*, p. 43. of his Life, tells us what Chaplains were in *Eſſex*'s Army: *Abundance of famous excellent Divines were Chaplains to his Army*, Stephen Marſhal *and Dr.* Burgeſs *to* Eſſex's *Regiments*; Obadiah Sedgwick *to Col.* Hollis; Calibut Downing *to the Lord* Roberts; John Sedgwick *to the Earl of* Stamford; *Dr.* Spurſtow *to* Hamden's; *Mr.* Perkins *to Col.*

Goodwin's; *Mr.* Moore *to the Lord* Wharton's; Adoniram Bifield *to Sir* Henry Cholmley's; *Mr.* Nalton *to Col.* Grantham's; *Mr.* Simeon Aſh *to the Lord* Brooks; *Mr.* Morton *of* Newcaſtle *to Sir* Arthur Haſlerigge, *with many more.* Theſe were the firſt Incendiaries & Boutefew's that firſt kindled and continued the Wars, and ſuch of the King's Friends as eſcaped the mouth of the Armies Swords, were ſentenc'd to a worſe Death by the Sword of theſe Mens mouths.

In the Year 43. when the Parliaments Army were worſted and weakned by the King, and they thought themſelves in danger of being overcome, they intreated help from the *Scots*, who taking advantage of their ſtraits, brought in the Covenant as the Condition of their help. Thus Mr. *Baxter*, p. 127. of his *firſt Plea*; who confeſſeth *it was contrived as a Stratagem of War to bind the Faction in both Nations in a Confederacy againſt the King, and ſtrengthen the War againſt him*; for the doing whereof, they *pawned their Souls to each other*, as his Majeſty obſerves in the Chapter of the *Covenant.* And if it be conſidered by how many Solemn Oaths and Proteſtations the Subjects of both Nations, as well as by the Laws of God and Nature, were obliged to defend his Majeſty's Perſon, and the Laws and Government eſtabliſhed; it will appear to be true, as Mr. *Philip Nye* obſerved, concerning the Covenant, *That for Matter, Perſons, and other Circumſtances, the like hath not been in any Age*

Age or Oath we read of in Sacred or Humane Story. But it did the work for which it was deſigned; it brought in the *Scots* Armies, by by the promiſed hopes of dividing the Church Lands upon the Extirpation of Epiſcopacy; and was as fatal to the King as to the Biſhops: For the King's Forces being broken, he withdraws from *Oxford*, where he was beſieged, and commits himſelf to the *Scots* Army, who ſollicite him to take the Covenant, and ſign their Propoſitions for the Presbyterial Government. *Henderſon* is ſent to diſpute the point with the King; and he being baffled, Mr. *Cant*, *Blaire*, and *Douglas* endeavoured the ſame; but more by railing than reaſoning with him. One of them (beſides many rude expreſſions in his Sermon before the King) called for the 52 *Pſalm*; which begins thus: *Why doſt thou, Tyrant, boaſt abroad, Thy wicked works to praiſe?* Whereupon the King preſently ſtood up, and called for the 56 *Pſalm*, which begins thus: *Have mercy Lord on me, I pray; For men would me devour.* Which the People readily ſung, leaving the other. And the Commiſſioners of the General Aſſembly reſolved, That if the King be excluded from Government in *England* for not granting the Propoſitions concerning Religion and the Covenant, it was not lawful for that Kingdom to aſſiſt him for the Recovery of the Government. Nay, they threaten to deliver him up to the Parliament of *England*, as

ſhortly after they did for 400000 *l.* for the raiſing of which Sum, an Ordinance is paſt for Sale of the Biſhops Lands at Ten years value, *Nov.* 16. And by another Ordinance, *Febr.* 8. none were to bear any Office Civil or Military that refuſed to take the Covenant. The Parliament having gotten the King in their power, thought themſelves very ſecure; and therefore reſolves to disband the whole Army, Horſe and Foot, and to ſend a good part of them for *Ireland*; which ſo ſtartled the Army, that they began to take new meaſures. And firſt they demand their Arrears for 56 Weeks. Next, that a Declaration againſt the Army *March* 13. might be recalled, and they ſecured for what had been done in the late Wars: which things at a general Rendezvouz they petition the Parliament for; who being under great fears, Vote all that was deſired. But the Army had a farther deſign, and by 1000 Horſe under Cornet *Joyce*, ſeize the King's Perſon, and detain him in the power of the Army; which was *Cromwel*'s deſign, who though he ſate with the Members at *Weſtminſter*, and proteſted there with Execrations againſt himſelf and his Family, that he was ignorant of the Fact, yet he told his Confidents, that *having got the King into his hands, he had the Parliament in his Pocket.* And preſently he falls to purging of the Houſe, impeaching Eleven of the chief Presbyterians of High Treaſon, and ſecluded them the Houſe; and after-

afterward got the Militia of *London* into their hands: for the Army being drawn up on *Hounſlow-heath*, marched up to the Parliament Houſe, and gave it a ſecond purge of many more Members; and marching triumphantly through *London*, did demoliſh their Works; and never left, till he had ſetled the Parliament to his own liking.

But to return to Mr. *Baxter*: *Four years*, he ſays, *he was a Member of the Army*; part of which time (by what follows) will appear to be after that the Independent Party was predominant, and the Army new modelled; yet he tarried with this Army under *Cromwel*, until the King was murthered, and till *Richard* the Protector was caſt out of the Government by thoſe that had placed him in it. Hear what Mr. *Baxter* ſays, *p.* 14. of his Anſwer to *Bagſhaw*: *Is it poſſible for any ſober Chriſtian in the World to take them to be blameleſs, or theſe to be little ſins? What? the violating of the King's Perſon, and the Life of ſo good a King, and the Change of the Fundamental Government, and the Armies Force upon the Parliament; the ſetting up a Protector, and pulling him down again; the ſetting up the Remnant of the Commons, and preſently pulling them down, to whom* (as Mr. *Baxter* ſaid) *they had ſworn, and ſworn, and ſworn again to be faithful to, and defend them; and that they were the beſt Governours in all the World. If all this was not Rebellion, or Treaſon, or Murder, there is no ſuch Crime poſſible to be*

committed?——If I was guilty of ſuch ſins, I do openly confeſs, that if I lay in Sackcloth, and in Tears, and did lament my ſins before the World, which had done ſuch unſpeakable wrong to Chriſt and to Men, I ſhould do no more than the plain Light of Nature aſſureth me to be my great and needful duty, p. 17.

Now that which Mr. *Bagſhaw* accuſed Mr. *Baxter* of, was, That he was guilty of ſtirring up and fomenting that War againſt *Charles* the Firſt, which Mr. *Baxter* had confeſſed, and that he had drawn ſome Thouſands into it: of this we have him boaſting often, but not of his Repentance for it. And *N.B.* he thinks the pulling down of the Protector, and the Remnant of the Commons, to whom they had often ſworn to be faithful, and defend them, and ſays they were the beſt Governours in the World, to be as great a Sin as the violating the King's Perſon and Life, in Mr. *Baxter*'s Opinion.

Mr. *Baxter* pretends he was ſent among the Army by an Aſſembly of Divines: And I find, that ſuch Divines as attended the *Weſtminſter* Aſſembly were ordered (*Aug.* 28. 1643.) to go into the Country to ſtir up the People to riſe *for the defence* (as they call it) *of the Parliament*; but indeed, to ſtrengthen the Rebellion againſt the King: For againſt this Aſſembly, conſiſting of half Lay and half Clergy, but wholly of diſaffected Perſons, we find the King thus declaring by Proclamation: *That many*

many of them were perſons who had openly preached Rebellion, and excited the People to take up Arms againſt him: That the far greater part of them were Men of no Reputation or Learning, and eminently diſaffected to the Government of the Church of England; *and therefore he forbad their meeting.* But Mr. *Baxter* was of another judgment: he ſays, *I have not read of many Aſſemblies of worthier Men ſince the Apoſtles days*; Anſw. to the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, p. 84.

Mr. *Baxter*, *p.* 73. of his Life, ſays of this Aſſembly, That *the Divines there congregate were Men of excellent Learning and Godlineſs, and Miniſterial Abilities and Fidelity; and I ſpeak it in the Face of Malice and Envy, that as far as I am able to judge, the Chriſtian World, ſince the days of the Apoſtles, had never a Synod of more excellent Divines than this Synod and the Synod of* Dort. To theſe were added many Lords and Commons, and ſix or ſeven Independents, five proved diſſenting Brethren, *Nye*, *Goodwin*, *Burroughs*, *Simpſon* and *Bridges*, *For my part*, ſaith Mr. *Baxter*, *I honour the Men, but am not of their mind as to the Government they would have ſet up; and ſome words in their Catechiſm I could wiſh had been more clear: And above all, I could wiſh that the Parliament, and their more ſkilful hand, had done more to heal our Breaches.* *N. B.* The Aſſembly had a ſkilful hand, the Parliament a more ſkilful; but Mr. *Baxter* was *Magnus Apollo*, that could have healed all our Breaches, by

his only way of Concord. But which of theſe three Parties were more skilful to divide and deſtroy, we need a greater Oracle than that of this *Apollo* to determine.

I cannot pretend to know much more of the Learning and Godlineſs of theſe Aſſembly-Divines, than by what I have read in their Sermons preached upon ſpecial Occaſions: Several of them are named, among the Chaplains that attended the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army, Mr. *Marſhal* was one, who in a Letter of his, *p.* 19. ſays, *That if the King had been ſlain (in the Battel at* Edge-hill) *it had not been the Parliaments fault, for he might have kept himſelf farther off if he pleaſed.* And in his Sermon, *January* 8. 1647. *The queſtion is now*, ſaith he, *whether Chriſt or Antichriſt ſhall be King.* And in another Sermon to the Mayor and Aldermen, 1644. ſpeaking of the King's Party, he ſaith, *Theſe are miſerable and accurſed Men, Factors for Hell, Satan's Boutefews; and as true Zealots are ſet on fire from Heaven, ſo theſe Mens fire is kindled from Hell, whether alſo it carrieth them.* And in his Sermon *Curſe ye Meroz, I pray look on me as one that comes to beat a Drum in your Ears, to ſee who will come out to follow the Lamb*; with much more to the like purpoſe. *John Goodman*, another of them, ſaith, *That the Doctrine of Reſiſtance was reſerved for our times.* Mr. *Arrowſmith*, in a Sermon 1643. *We are not a Kingdom divided againſt it ſelf, but one Kingdom againſt another; that is, the King-*

Kingdom of Chriſt againſt Antichriſt. So Mr. *John Bond* told the Parliament, *That they fought againſt* Babylon, Dagon, *and Antichriſt; and exhorted them to pull it down, though, like* Sampſon, *they died with it.* Mr. *Caſe*, in a Sermon 1644. ſays, *God would have no Mercy ſhewed where the quarrel is againſt Religion*, p. 16. *Thoſe who would bring in Idolatry and falſe Worſhip to depoſe Chriſt from his Throne, and ſet up Antichriſt, Chriſt hath doomed to deſtruction. St.* Luke 19. 27. *As for theſe mine Enemies, bring them out and ſlay them before me*; p. 18. Mr. *Thomas Palmer* ſaid, *That God ſaw it good to bring Chriſt into his Kingdom by a bloody way.* Dr. *Downing* told the Artillery-men, *It was lawful for Defence of Religion to take up Arms againſt the King:* And ſo did Mr. *Calamy*; *'Tis commendable to fight for Peace and Reformation againſt the King's Command.* And in a Sermon *Decemb.* 25. 1644. he calls them *the* Judas's *of* England *that made their Peace with the King at* Oxford. *What a ſad thing is it,* ſaith Mr. *Caſe, to ſee our King in the Head of an Army of* Babylonians, *refuſing, as it were, to be called the King of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *and chooſing rather to be called the King of* Babylon; Serm.on *Iſa.*43.4.1644.p.18.

Mr. *Herle* in a Sermon to the *Commons*, *Nov.* 5th. *Anno* 1644. exhorts them to do Juſtice to the greateſt; Saul's *Sons are not ſpared, nor* Agag, *or* Benhadad, *though Kings. Brooks* to the *Commons*, *Decemb.* 26. 48. Set ſome of theſe

theſe Grand Malefactors in Mourning, that cauſed the Kingdom to mourn ſo many Years, in Garments rouled in Blood by the execution of Juſtice. Mr. *Love* was choſen as the fitteſt Perſon to aſſiſt at the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, who in compliance with the ſenſe of his Maſters, called *Epiſcopacy* and *Liturgy*, *Two Plague Sores*, and tells the Commiſſioners, *That while their Enemies go on in wicked practiſes, and they keep their Principles, they may as ſoon make Fire and Water*, nay he had almoſt ſaid, *Heaven and Hell to agree; it is the Sword, not Diſputes that muſt end this Controverſie: Wherefore turn your Plowſheres into Swords, and your Pruninghooks to Spears to fight the Lords Battles, to avenge the Blood of the Saints which hath been ſpilt: It muſt be avenged by us, or upon us. I have prayed that too much pitty in our State Phyſicians, do not retard the healing of the Land; here are Malignant Humours in the Nobles and Gentry to be purged out, before they be healed. O that in this our State Phyſicians would reſemble God, to cut off thoſe from the Land who have diſtempered it.* You may know what he means by his Latin ſentence, *Melius pereat unus, quam unitas*, Men that be under the guilt of much Innocent Blood, are not fit to be at Peace with, till all the guilt of Blood be expiated by the Sword of the Law, or the Law of the Sword.

It is true, ſaith he at his Execution, *I did in my place and calling oppoſe the Forces of the late*

late King, and were he alive again, and I ſhould live longer, the Cauſe being as then it was, I ſhould oppoſe him longer: But the preſent Power ſaw it not fit to truſt him with a longer Life. And it is very remarkable, that *Prideaux* the *Atturney General* repeated moſt of thoſe paſſages which Mr. *Love* had urged againſt the King and his Party, to ruine them, to ſhew that he ought not to have any Mercy ſhewed him: See the Printed Tryal of Mr. *Love*. Mr. *Baxter*, pag. 67. *of his Life*, ſays, *That the Souldiers, ſaid he was ſo like to* Love, *that he would not be right till he was ſhorter by the head.* But Mr. *Baxter* acted more warily, and as he ſays, p. 84. *of his Life*, that after Wars he had Fourteen Years Liberty in ſuch ſweet imployment, and that in times of Uſurpation when under a Rightful King and Governour, he was laid by as a broken Veſſel, ſuſpected and vilified, ſcarce Tolerated to live privately and quietly in the Land. But if Mr. *Baxter* had complied but half ſo much with the rightful Government in things lawful, as he had done with uſurped Powers in things unlawful, he might have lived more than twice as long, as quietly and godly as other good Men did. Yet after the clamour of his Sufferings, he thrived in thoſe worſt Times (as he accounted them) for he had a ſtock of Money, out of which he could ſpare a Thouſand pound to the *Exchequer*, intended moſt of it for pious uſes (as he ſays) *p.* 89. *part* 3.

But in Seven years he endeavoured a purchaſe of Houſe or Land, but could not find it: So that he perceived the Devils reſiſtance of it, and that there are Devils that keep up a War againſt Goodneſs in the World; yet he found the Devil did not hinder his disburſing almoſt as great a Sum to build a Synagogue for his Conventicle. He did not thrive ſo well in the Service of the Army; for his Arrears of many hundred pounds were never paid him: Nor was he dealt with as Mr. *Love*. *Ille crucem ſceleris precium tulit hic diadema.* But to return: This, or ſome other Relick of this Aſſembly (who themſelves ran before they were ſent) did ſend Mr. *Baxter* to the Army, under *Cromwel* after the King's death, where he ſays he accompanied Commiſſary-General *Whaley*, a Perſon who was ſometime the King's Jailor, and whom you may find in that black Liſt of his Majeſty's Judges; a fit Conductor and great Confident of Mr. *Baxter*'s; to him Mr. *Baxter* dedicates his *Apology*, by the Name of *The Honourable*, &c.

With this *Achitophel* our *Shemei* hunts *David* from Mountain to Mountain, curſing and railing at him as he goes; the Sword of his Tongue being longer and ſharper than his furbiſhed Sword. *Curſe ye* Meroz, and *Curſed be he that doth the work of the Lord deceitfully*, and *Curſed be he that holdeth back his Sword from Blood*, were the common Texts of the Army-Chaplains: And the Maxims of his

Holy

Holy Commonwealth were the Subjects of ſome of his Sermons.

He ſays in the Epiſtle to his firſt *Plea for Peace*, *My honeſt Friend*, (a Proſelyte of his, whom, it ſeems, he had engaged in the War) *when he ſaw here a Leg, and there an Arm, (was faint-hearted, and) ſaid it was time for him to ſtop.* But the valiant Mr. *Baxter*, though he had ſeen many ſadder ſights, even the Carcaſſes of ſome Thouſands, Streams of Blood, the Ruine of Cities, Towns, Churches, and Caſtles, goes on as undauntedly as *the Horſe that ruſheth into the Battle.* Let the Reader view (if he can without horrour) what Mr. *Baxter* reports of himſelf in two Epiſtles dedicated to two of his Army-Saints. In that to *Whaley*, he ſaith, *Providence did ſo clear his way* (*viz.* in that War) *and draw him on, and ſweeten unuſual Troubles with unuſual Mercies, and iſſue all in Teſtimonies of Grace, that he had great mixtures of Comfort with Sorrow in the performance. And that he had more eminent Deliverances and other Mercies in thoſe years and ways of Blood and Dolour, than in moſt of his Life beſides.* It ſeems he was of the mind which our Saviour foretold of ſome, that ſhould kill his Diſciples, and think they did God Service. He adds: *The beſt is, we now draw no blood*, (it ſeems he had done that ſufficiently) *they were now as Conquerours to divide the Spoil.* And great things did this Champion promiſe himſelf, though it appears that he was diſappointed

appointed of his hopes: For in another Epiſtle to Colonel *Berry*, whom (*Stilo Novo*) he calls Honourable too, as being one of the Council of State, he thus expoſtulates; *Was I not capable of Secular and Military Advancement as well as others?* (it ſeems he thought ſo, but they did not) *Did I ever ſollicite you as much as for my Arrears, which is many hundred pounds?* (it ſeems he had ſerved them long, and was well promiſed for his pains; but this Man of Conſcience was content with the pleaſing work of drawing Blood *gratis*:) he ſcorn'd to open his mouth for the many Hundreds due to him, hoping they would have advanced a Man of ſo generous a Spirit to ſome eminent Military Preferment, whereof (his Miniſtry notwithſtanding) he thought himſelf capable. But this great Warriour, partly through regret at his diſappointments, of which he complains *p.* 2. of his Epiſtle before his *Saints Everlaſting Reſt*, againſt *ungrateful men*; and partly through his bodily infirmities (for however *willing his Spirit* was, his *Fleſh was* grown *weak*) being exhauſted by the Accidents of War: For in the ſame Page he tells us, that *being in his Quarters far from home, he was caſt into extream languiſhing by the ſudden loſs of about a gallon of Blood*, (which ſhould have minded him of the many Gallons of Blood whereof he had been the cauſe of effuſion) *after many years foregoing weakneſs, by which his Body was ruined beyond hopes of recovery*

very, the ſentence of preſent death being by the ableſt Phyſicians paſt upon him; from which he was delivered by a wonder in the midſt of his duties, (*i. e.* in the War) *and was ſupported fourteen years in a languiſhing eſtate, wherein he had ſcarce a waking hour free from pain.* And thus (though againſt his will) he is forced to leave the Army. And might not Mr. *Baxter* juſtly ſay (and the Reader believe him in this) as he writes in a Letter to Dr. *Hill*— *I have been in the heat of my Zeal ſo forward to changes and ways of blood, that I fear God will not let me have a hand in the peaceable building of his Church?* And the Judgment of God is eminently upon him, who hath been ſo far from building, that it hath ever ſince been his great buſineſs to deſtroy the beſt eſtabliſhed Church in the World; which will appear, by taking a view of this mortified Man in his retirement from the War. And we find him ſitting down on the ſequeſtred Living of Mr. *Dance* at *Kedderminſter*; he had inticed many of that place and neighbourhood to the War, and ſome few returned with him again. How far he was given to Plunder in the time of War (whereof he hath been accuſed) I affirm not; but it will draw a ſhrewd ſuſpicion on him, that he was not afraid to take a Horſe or two in time of War, who ſeized on the Perſon of a Neighbour, to ſerve as an Exchange for his Father; and poſſeſſed himſelf of the Livelyhood of Mr. *Dance*, of whom he confeſſed, as the then Bp. of

of *Worceſter*'s Letter, *p.* 3. informs, *That he was a Man of an unblameable Life and Converſation, though not of ſuch Parts as might qualifie him for the Cure of ſo great a Congregation.* And though Mr. *Baxter* was not welcomed here by a Miracle (as he was at * *Bridgenorth*, where the Report is, that it rained Manna on the Church wherein he was to officiate;) yet he was convinced by Providence, (as he ſays in that Epiſtle) *That it is the Will of God it ſhould be ſo:* (a ſtrange Argument, from God's permiſſion of an unrighteous Act, that it is his Will it ſhould be ſo!) *For this* (ſaith he) *I clearly diſcerned in my firſt coming to you, in my former abode with you, and in the time of my forced abſence from you.* But the truth is, Mr. *Baxter* had too much adhered to the Presbyterian Intereſt, to be advanced by that Army; though he deſires them to remember how far he had gone with them in the War, and pleadeth their acknowledgment that a ſpecial Preſence of God was with the Parliament; and preſſeth on them the Sin of forcing out 140 Members firſt, and then 120, and *their proclaiming it Treaſon to ſay that the Parliament was in being:* And then he urgeth thoſe Scriptures to them, which himſelf had ſhewn them an example to contemn, *Rom.* 13. 1 *Pet.* 2. 13. and that they might know his meaning, he tells them, That *the ſecluded Members were the beſt Governours*

* See Mr. *Baxter*'s Relation of this in a Poſtſcript to his *True Catholick*, p. 294.

Governours in all the World; that they had the Supremacy, and yet had been reſiſted and depoſed in England. It was a Sin with Mr. *Baxter* to oppoſe the Uſurpers, and a Duty to reſiſt the King and fight againſt him; which Mr. *Baxter* did for four years together: And *it is to be believed* (ſaith Mr. *Baxter*) *that a man would kill him againſt whom he fights*, p. 423. *Holy Commonwealth.*

But Mr. *Baxter* was not very conſtant to his own Profeſſion concerning his long beloved Parliament: For in the ſame place and breath almoſt, he ſays, *Secondly, I mean the Powers that were laſt layed by*, (viz.) *Richard* and his Parliament; of whom he ſays, as to *Richard*, That *he piouſly, prudently, and faithfully, to his immortal honour, did exerciſe the Government, how ill ſoever you have uſed him.* But wherein did all this Piety and Prudence appear? was it that he did inherit from his Father *Oliver* a tender care of the Cauſe of Chriſt? of which you ſeem to give an inſtance in the Proteſtants of *Piedmont*; when it was notorious, that a great part of the Charity of the Nation for their Relief, was employed in maintaining the War againſt the King. Was it that at the inſtance of a few of his Officers, he diſſolved that Parliament of his? Was it in ſwearing that he would to the utmoſt of his power maintain and preſerve the juſt Rights and Priviledges of the People, and govern according to Law? which he could not do. Was

it in making a tame Submiſſion to ſome of his Army, calling them *The preſent Government*, from whom he expected Protection, and held himſelf obliged to live peaceably under them, and to procure to the utmoſt of his power that others ſhould do ſo too? Theſe things argue no great ſtock of Piety, Prudence, or Faithfulneſs. And as to *Richard's* Parliament, which had an Upper Houſe conſiſting moſtly of Military, Mechanical, and Fanatick Members; a Lower Houſe of Men of none or very ill note: Of this Parliament Mr. *Baxter* ſays, He *never had known a Parliament more inclined to Piety and Peace*; (the Long Parliament not excepted) whereof he gives this inſtance: Becauſe it was their deſire to have ſetled Elections according to Mr. *Baxter's* advice, (*i. e.*) to keep out all whom he calls *ungodly*, from chuſing or being choſen. See the Preface to the *Holy Commonwealth*. Theſe, and ſuch like, were they of whom Mr. *Baxter* ſays, *They were the beſt Governours in all the World, ſuch as they had ſworn and ſworn to obey again and again; ſuch as might not be impoſed on pain of Damnation; and that he would with great rejoycing give a thouſand thanks to that Man that would acquaint him of one Nation in the World that had better Governours in Soveraign Power, as to Holineſs and Wiſdom conjunct, than theſe, who yet had been reſiſted and depoſed.* It ſeems Mr. *Baxter* could have been eaſily reconciled to any Governours, but thoſe to whom of right the Go-

Government did belong. And any Reader converſant in Mr. *Baxter*'s Writings, may obſerve, that Mr. *Baxter* never complained ſo much of Arbitrary Government and Perſecution under any of the Revolutions of Uſurped Powers, as he hath done ſince the King and Church were reſtored; nay, he wrote as induſtriouſly for Obedience to ſome of them, as he hath ſince to incourage Diſobedience to theſe. And let me deſire the Reader to conſider what ground Mr. *Baxter* had for his great veneration of the *Secluded Members*, more than for thoſe who were called *the Rump*. Did not they agree in that accurſed Vote of *Non-Addreſſes* to the King before their Secluſion? Did not they upon their re-admiſſion, reenforce the *Engagement to be true and faithful to the Commonwealth, without a King or Houſe of Lords?* Did not ſome of them provide *an Oath of Abjuration* of the King, to be taken by ſuch as were to ſit in the Council of State? Did not ſome of them ſend to General *Monk* to adviſe him that he muſt take that Oath, before his admittance into that Council? Did they not offer to ſettle *Hampton-Court* on General *Monk*, and deſire him to take the Government on himſelf, under what Title he pleaſed? And becauſe they did this, (and might juſtifie themſelves in ſo doing, upon Mr. *Baxter*'s *Theſes* in his *Holy Commonwealth*) they are (all theſe things notwithſtanding) the Supream Powers, the beſt Governours in all the

World, and ſuch as to reſiſt, is to incur Damnation.

Mr. *Baxter* during the time of his abode at *Kedderminſter*, was not employed in writing only, as he did againſt Dr. *Pierce*, juſtifying the Trade of Sequeſtrations; and againſt others, repreſenting them as Men that had neither hatred to Sin, nor love to Godlineſs or common Honeſty; becauſe, he ſays, they *publiſhed ſo many, ſo groſs and ſhameleſs Falſehoods, and over-acted the part of the Accuſers of the Brethren*, p. 308. of *Poſtſcript* to the *True Catholick*. But he was employed alſo in aſſiſting the Commiſſioners for Sequeſtrations, *p.* 297. *ibid.* Yet he excuſeth the matter, and ſays, He *never perſecuted or caſt out any, or endeavoured it by word or deed, unleſs for notorious ſcandal or inſufficiency*; and we know that Dr. *Pierce*, and ſuch as he, were then accounted ſuch, as not having the Grace of God in them. Upon ſome ſuch account it was, that Dr. *Sanderſon* and Dr. *Pocock* were ejected, to the perpetual Infamy of the Ejectors.

How vainly doth Mr. *Baxter* ſtill plead for Sequeſtrations, *p.* 78. of his *Apol.* First, *That the Miniſters were ejected by the Secular Power.* But were not they animated by the Clergy, who, as Mr. *Baxter*, had then no Benefices? Secondly, *That ſome of the Pariſh were the Accuſers, Witneſſes, and Sollicitors.* And ſuch may be ſtill found in moſt Pariſhes where there are very good Miniſters. But, Thirdly,

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The People ſhould not be left as Heathen, and therefore 'tis an excuſable errour; and when the love of Souls makes them ſpend themſelves for the Peoples good, this ſhould not be thought their unpardonable Crime. And they did think that the Salary was for the Work; and if they had a lawful Call to the Work of the place, they thought they had ſo to the Salary. Now though Mr. *Baxter* framed theſe Reaſons for them, he adds, *I juſtifie not their Reaſons; but my Opinion is, That being young Men moſtly in the Univerſities, that had little or nothing of their own, they could not well otherwiſe have got Bread and Clothing, much leſs Fire, Houſe-room,* &c. Thoſe young Men could better have ſhifted for their Maintenance, than by turning ſo many aged Miniſters, with Wives and Children, out of all. Of ſuch as ſay, *We may do evil that good may come of it*, the Apoſtle ſays, *Their damnation is juſt.* But Mr. *Baxter* concludes, *p.* 79. *To ſay the truth, many of them thought it a good work, yea very good, to caſt out thoſe* (thouſands of them whoſe Livings were deſirable, by falſe Accuſations) *as inſufficient or vicious.*

Theſe are that *learned, godly, faithful Clergy*, who to requite Mr. *Baxter*, hath choſen him their Prolocutor, to juſtifie them in all their Diſobedience and Violences, and to accuſe the Conformiſts of Perjury, Perſecution, and other heinous Sins, in thoſe Books which he calls his *Pleas for Peace*.

Becauſe Mr. *Baxter* thinks himſelf abuſed in the account which Mr. *Durel* and others have given of his Sequeſtration at *Kedderminſter*, take his own account. In the year 40. the Parliament began to Sequeſter ſuch Miniſters as appeared moſt Loyal: and ſo early the People of *Kedderminſter* article againſt their Vicar: it was worth then about Eightſcore pounds *per Annum*, (now more.) The Vicar fearing to loſe all, is forced to give a Bond of 500 *l.* to pay 60 *l.* yearly to a Lecturer. Mr. *Baxter* is invited to accept of it, and holds it for a year and half, being driven off by the Wars, which he followed four years, and thinks it a kindneſs that he did not ſue the Vicar for his 60 *l. per Annum*, which he did nothing for. But at his return, the Vicar is ſequeſtred by a Committee, and Mr. *Baxter* is importuned to take it; which he refuſeth to do in his own name, but thus it was contrived: *I got all the Magiſtrates and Chief of the Town together, who openly ſubſcribed to give me* 100 l. per Annum, *as their Lecturer; and that no part of this ſhould accrue from the Vicaridge.* But mark the Juggle! He ſaid immediately before, *I told them, that by an Augmentation which I had procured, making my* 60 l. *an* 100 l. *and a Houſe, I would be their Lecturer as before.* This 60 l. was to come out of the Vicaridge, notwithſtanding that Proviſo to the contrary. But the Sequeſtrators, who gathered the Tythes, gave him no account; nor needed they: if it be

be true that Mr. *Baxter* had 80 or 90 *l.* and an Assistant about 60 *l.* more, there was not much left for the Vicar. But Mr. *Baxter* asked them whether any of the Money they gave him came out of the Tythes? They told him, the 60 *l.* due by Bond, and an Augmentation granted by Parliament, was more than he had; (*i. e.*) all that he had came out of the Vicaridge, though it were not full as much as was promised him: for the Bond and Augmentation came to 100 *l.* whereas he received but 80 or 90 *l.* *And they used my name* (saith Mr. *Baxter*) *in letting the Tythes: for they had privily got an Order to put me in the sequestred Vicaridge; which when I knew, I consented to, for their indemnity.* So that after all his Art to evade the guilt of a Sequestrator, it is plain the Vicaridge was sequestred in his name, the Tythes agreed for in his name, the Pay was made out of the Tythes; and to all this, though *post factum*, Mr. *Baxter* consented. *And this was my taking the Sequestration*, p. 81. of *Apol.* I know that some Persons have minded Mr. *Baxter* to make Restitution; but he thinks he had a Right to it, and wants but a Secular Power to place him in it again; yea, he thinks himself wrong'd that he hath not the fifth part still payed him: for, *p.* 85. *Ever the Usurpers allowed the Wives of the sequestred Ministers the fifth part; for my part, I never asked you so much.* He expected to have it offered him as his due, without asking. But I suppose his

many hundred pounds of Arrears from the Army, and his Fifths from *Kedderminſter*, will be payed together.

Mr. *Baxter* ſays, the Protector *Oliver* never had any reſpect for him: and he would now perſwade the World that he had as little for the Protector; although in an Epiſtle to his Son *Richard*, before the *Key for Catholicks*, he thus applauds him: *The ſerious Endeavours of your Renowned Father for the Proteſtants of* Savoy, *diſcovered to the World by Mr.* Morland, *hath won him more eſteem in the hearts of many that fear the Lord, than all his Victories in themſelves conſidered: We pray that you may inherit a tender Care of the Cauſe of Chriſt.* When Mr. *Baxter* could not be ſo great a ſtranger as to be ignorant how the Charity of the People, which was very large at that time, was abuſed, and employed to very ill uſes; yet with Mr. *Baxter*, *Oliver* is as *David*, and his Son *Richard* as *Solomon.*

Mr. *Baxter's Key for Catholicks* was dedicated to *Richard Cromwel*, where he gives this Character of himſelf: *One that rejoyceth in the preſent happineſs of* England, *and wiſheth earneſtly that it were but as well with the reſt of the World; and that honoureth all the Providences of God by which we have been brought to what we are: One that concurs in the common hopes to theſe Nations under your Government.* And in another Epiſtle before his *Five Diſputations of Church-Government*, when all Religions were tolerated

tolerated, except that of the Church of *England*, (to prevent the toleration of that) he ſays, *If you give Liberty to all that is called Religion, you will ſoon be judged of no Religion, and loved accordingly.*

How Mr. *Baxter* and his Party behaved themſelves during the Impriſonment of the King, and while he was in the hands of his Murderers, they are not willing to diſcover. Mr. *Baxter* for his part ſays, That he proved in the times of Uſurpation, that the Presbyterians deteſted it, that the *London* Miniſters printed their Abhorrence of it to the World, Preface to *Second Plea.* As for the *London*-Miniſters, I read, that about 59 of them in number pleaded for the King in theſe words: *That the woful Miſcarriages of the King himſelf, which we cannot but acknowledge to be very many and great in his Government, have coſt the three Kingdoms ſo dear, and caſt him down from his Excellency into a horrid Pit of Miſery beyond example.* This *Plea for the King* is like their late *Pleas for Peace*, (*i. e.* Juſtifications of Schiſm and Sedition;) for in it they ſay enough to excuſe the Regicides; *We cannot but acknowledge*, (i. e. we affirm and bear witneſs) *that the woful Miſcarriages of the King himſelf, not of his evil Counſellors only, but his perſonal Crimes and fundamental Errours in Government, too many and great to be here mentioned, have coſt the three Kingdoms ſo dear, as that all the Bloodſhed, and Rapine, and Devaſtations*

ſtations that have been made in England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *might be charged on him; and for theſe he is juſtly caſt down from his Excellency into ſo horrid a pit of Miſery beyond example*; (i. e.) *Though the like were never done in the World, he is juſtly fallen under a Sentence of Condemnation.* As to Mr. *Baxter's* particular abhorrence of that barbarous Fact, and his proving that the Presbyterians deteſted it, I ſuppoſe the place he refers to, is his *Key for Catholicks*, p. 321, *&c.* he ſays in *p.*323. That *the Caſe of Murdering our King, differs very much from the Powder Plot, or Papiſts murdering of Kings, and teaching that it is lawful for a private hand to do it. A War, and a treacherous Murder, are not all one; nor is a part of the Soveraign Power all one with a private hand*, p. 324. I have read what *John Goodwin* and *Milton* have written in Vindication of that horrid Murder, and do believe that Mr. *Baxter* hath out-done them both. Let the Reader ſeriouſly peruſe that part of his Writings (which he quotes to prove the contrary) from *p.*323. to *p.* 326. and I believe he will be of the ſame opinion: for the deſign of it is to prove, that, (*p.* 323.) *If the Body of a Commonwealth, or thoſe that have part in the Legiſlative Power, and ſo in the Supremacy, ſhould unwillingly be engaged in a War with the Prince, and after many years Blood and Deſolations, judiciouſly take away his Life, as guilty of all this Blood, and not to be truſted any more with Government*;

Government; and all this they do, not as private Men, but as the remaining Soveraign Power, and ſay they do according to Laws: undoubtedly the Caſe differs very much from Papiſts murdering of Kings. I ſpeak not this by way of Juſtification, ſaith Mr. *Baxter*, p. 325. *whether they were in the right or wrong; I am not the Judge: but ſurely it was the Judgment of the Parliament upon the Diviſion,* (between the King and them) *the Power was in them to defend themſelves and the Commonwealth, and ſuppreſs all Subjects that were in Arms againſt them; and that thoſe that did reſiſt them, did reſiſt the Higher Powers ſet over them by God, and therefore were guilty of the Damnation of Reſiſters.* And this they aſſured the People was a Truth: And ſo hath Mr. *Baxter* done too in his *Political Aphoriſms* more at large; but expreſly enough in this place, where under the name of *Grotius*, p. 324. he aſſerts, *That the Legiſlative Power being divided between the Prince and Senate, the Prince invading the Senates Right, may juſtly be reſiſted, and loſe his Right.* And this was well underſtood by all that engaged in the War againſt the King from the beginning, that in caſe they Conquered the King, he was no more to be truſted with the Government: *For if it were known beforehand,* (ſaith Mr. *Baxter*) *that if they ſhould purchaſe a Victory by their Blood, when they have done all, they muſt be all governed by him, whom they have conquered, and lye at his mercy, they would*

would hardly ever have an Army to defend them. So that the King was never more to be truſted (*i. e.*) either with Government or Life.

As for Mr. *Love*, Mr. *Baxter* in the cited Preface intimates, that he was Beheaded for his Loyalty; which I think he ſufficiently demonſtrated, in theſe two paſſages: (Not to take notice here of his barbarous inſulting over that truly *great Prelate* when he was brought to the Block, waving his Handkerchief, and crying out, *Art thou come, little* Will, *&c.*) the one, in his Sermon at *Uxbridge*: *It was the Lord that troubled* Achan, *and cut him off becauſe he troubled* Iſrael. *O that in this our State, Phyſicians would reſemble God, to cut off thoſe from the Land that have diſtempered it*; (and he tells us plainly whom he means) *Melius pereat unus quam unitas: Men that lye under the guilt of much Innocent Blood, are not fit perſons to be at peace with, till all the guilt of Blood be expiated and avenged, either by the Sword of the Law, or by the Law of the Sword, elſe the Peace can never be ſafe or juſt.* The other paſſage was, in his Speech, *Sect.* 14. of his Trial; where ſpeaking of his oppoſing the Tyranny of a King, he ſays, *I did, it is true, in my place and calling, oppoſe the Forces of the late King; and where he alive again, and ſhould I live longer, the Cauſe being as then it was, I ſhould oppoſe him longer*; That is, he had lived, and would die a Rebel.

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An hundred Inſtances of ſuch fatal Reflections on that excellent Prince, have been noted in the Sermons and other Writings of Men of Mr. *Baxter*'s Perſwaſion; and yet to ſhew that he dares do any thing to juſtifie his Party, he makes a bold Challenge to thoſe whom he calls their Accuſers, to ſhew, if they can, what Body or Party of Men on Earth have more ſound and loyal Principles of Government and Obedience. And yet they have preacht and publiſht to the World the ſame Doctrines which were voted *January* the 4th, 1648. *That the Repreſentative of the People in Parliament have the Supream Power of the Nation; and whatever is enacted or declared for Law by the Commons in Parliament, hath the form of a Law; and the People are concluded thereby, though the Conſent of King and Peers be not had thereunto.* Which Votes were paſſed in order to the King's Trial.

Were not they the King's moſt Loyal Subjects, that carried on a War againſt him, until they made him their Priſoner, and then uſed him as a captiv'd Slave, denying him the liberty of a Man, the ſociety of Wife, Children, and any Attendant whom he could truſt; and of a Chriſtian, denying him the aſſiſtance of his Chaplains; leaving him no Comfort that might make his Life deſirable, but perpetually baiting him with the Covenant, and ſuch unreaſonable Propoſitions as they knew before-hand the King could not in

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Honour or Conſcience comply with? Being thus bound and chain'd, the Independants take him out of their hands, and put an end to his Sufferings. *Salmaſius*, a great Presbyterian himſelf, truly repreſents the Caſe: *If a Thief* (ſays he, *p.*353. of his *Defenſio Regia*) *apprehends a Traveller, diſarms him, robs him of his Money, and leaves him naked, and faſt bound to ſome Tree, and ſome ravenous Beaſt finding him in that condition, kills and devours him; to whom ought the cauſe of his Death to be imputed? to the Thief, or to the Beaſt?* And he concludes, *Ita juſtum Regem & ſanctum extinxere Presbyteriani.* Theſe diſarmed him of his Militia, theſe bought and ſold him as a Captive, theſe covenanted to preſerve his Life, with a Condition of his preſerving their Religion; which when he ſhould refuſe, they thought themſelves bound by Covenant to deſert him. The Army in a Remonſtrance from St. *Albans*, Novemb. 16. ſay, that *Whereas it might be objected that the Covenant obliged them to preſerve the King's Perſon:* They ſay, *It was with this reſtriction, In the preſervation of the true Religion. Religion and Publick Intereſt were to be underſtood the principal and ſupream Matters engaged for; the King's Perſon and Authority were inferiour and ſubordinate; which being not conſiſtent with the preſervation of Religion and Publick Intereſt, they were by the Covenant obliged againſt it.* And what was it leſs that the Commiſſioners of the General Aſſembly

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bly of the *Scots* reſolved on, *viz. That if the King were excluded from Government in* England *for not granting the Propoſitions concerning Religion and the Covenant, it was not lawful for that Kingdom to aſſiſt him for the recovery of his Government?* (yet this is that *Solemn Covenant*, for the obligation whereof Mr. *Baxter* ſo contumaciouſly pleads, againſt the Authority of the whole Nation.) And upon theſe and ſuch like Propoſals from *Scotland*, the Parliament vote, *That no more Addreſſes be made from them to the King, nor any Letters or Meſſage received from him:* And, *That it ſhould be Treaſon for any perſon to receive Letters from the King, or deliver any to him, without leave from both Houſes.* And were not theſe the King's moſt Loyal Subjects? Or what Body or Party of Men have in Mr. *Baxter's* ſence more ſound or loyal Principles of Government and Obedience?

How often and how deeply this incomparable King was wounded at the heart by thoſe barbarous Declarations of the Parliament and Presbyterian Incendiaries, as if he were a witleſs, worthleſs, faithleſs Perſon, not to be truſted in his moſt Solemn Proteſtations againſt his Intentions for Tyranny and Popery, is beyond any Man's expreſſions but his own? Theſe had often murdered him in his Honour and Reputation before his laſt Execution. Nor could his laſt Speech ſilence thoſe malicious Blaſphemies; he was no ſooner dead,

dead, but he was executed in his Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, and as much as lay in the power of his Adversaries, rob'd of that immortal Jewel more worth than his Crown, though no Man was so qualified for such pious and excellent Meditations as himself. Those two Disputes about Episcopacy against *Henderson*, and a Junto of Presbyterians at *Newport*, of which his greatest Enemies could not deny him to be the genuine Author, sufficiently shew his great Abilities both for Learning and Acurateness of Stile; of which Debates the Bishop of *Worcester* says, that his Majesty understood the Constitution of our Church as well as any Bishop in it, and defended it with as clear and strong Reasons, whereof that Learned Bishop made great use against Mr. *Baxter*'s opposition of *Episcopacy*, p. 271, & 280. of his *History of Separation*. Yet from the beginning of the War to the end of the Life of that best of Kings, and I may add to the end of Mr. *Baxter*'s Life, no one hath endeavoured to defame him more, and render him odious to Posterity, than Mr. *Baxter*, by charging him with granting Commissions to those *Irish* Papists that massacred Two hundred thousand Protestants; of which more hereafter.

Though Mr. *Baxter* was disabled to combate any longer with the Sword, yet is he resolved to do it with the Pen, which he dips not in Gall and Vinegar, but in the very Poyson of Asps, to keep open the Wounds of the

the expiring Church: To which end he endeavours to draw his Neighbour-Miniſters into *an Aſſociation*, and procures the *Worceſterſhire Agreement*; the deſign of which you may ſee in Mr. *Baxter's Gildas Salvianus*, which was intended as a Humiliation Sermon to thoſe that would enter into the Aſſociation; not that they ſhould humble themſelves, but the Clergy that yet adhered to the King: For one effect of it was, the promoting a Petition, *That notoriouſly inſufficient and ſcandalous perſons* (and as ſuch, Mr. *Baxter* repreſented the Loyal Clergy; though, as himſelf obſerves in the ſame Book, the Synod of *Dort* called them *Stupor Mundi*, the Aſtoniſhment of the World, by reaſon of their Eminency) *ſhould not be permitted to meddle with the Myſteries of Chriſt, eſpecially the Sacraments.* Upon which Petition, as Mr. *Baxter* hath been told, there iſſued that rigid Proclamation for *Silencing* all ſequeſtred Miniſters, and forbidding them not only the Exerciſe of their Miniſtry, but of keeping any Schools, *&c.* A deſign as witleſs as it was wicked; for Mr. *Baxter* notes in the Preface to that Book, *That it had been put to a Vote in Parliament, to take away both Miniſtry and Maintenance, which was carried in the Negative by two Voices only*; yet, like another *Sampſon*, he is pulling down the Pillars of that Houſe, whoſe Ruines would bury himſelf and all his Order. A little taſte of his Malice at that ſeaſon, muſt needs diſtaſte the

impartial Reader. *One ſort that will be offended at me* (ſays he) *are ſome of the Divines of the Prelatical way*, (as indeed they all juſtly might) *for reproaching not as by hear-ſay, but from ſight and feeling, firſt, the Silencing of moſt godly able men, the Perſecution even of the peaceable, the diſcountenance of godlineſs, and the inſulting ſcorn of the profaneſt in the Land.* And *many hundred ſwearing, drunken, ignorant, ſcandalous, negligent Miniſters are caſt out, and we have now many humble, godly, painful Teachers in a County.* And as for the People, he ſays in the ſame Epiſtle to his *Gildas*, *That moſt of them wherever he came, did make Religion, and reading the Sacred Scriptures, or ſpeaking of the way to Heaven, the matter of their bitter ſcorn and reproach.* He ſpares not to Revile the Royal Martyr, as if he intended to juſtifie his Murder: *King* Charles (ſaith he) *by the Biſhops inſtigation, kept Mr.* Pryn *long in Priſon, and twice cropt his Ears for writing againſt their Masks and Plays, and the high and hard proceedings of the Prelates; though the Archbiſhop* (whoſe Head they cut off for leſs) *ſhewed greater Crimes, of which he was proved guilty*, in his Speech in the *Star-Chamber.* This was not *ſuch a faſt as God required, to looſe the bands of wickedneſs, to undo the heavy burthens, to break every yoak, and to let the oppreſſed go free.* This was the Hypocrite's *faſt for ſtrife and debate*, and *to ſmite with the fiſt of wickedneſs*, and to *make their voice to be heard on high*, Iſai. 58. 4.

58. 4. in the words of the proud Phariſee, *God I thank thee, I am not as other men, nor as this Publican*, as will appear to him that reads *chap.* 4. *ſect.* 1. and *p.* 154. where he raileth intolerably againſt the Rulers, as *Haters of practical godlineſs, and of all that would but ſpeak ſeriouſly of Heaven, and tell Men of Death and Judgment, and ſpend the Lord's day in preparation thereto; that did but pray in their Families, or reprove Drunkenneſs or Swearing.* What could any Papiſt ſay more to diſparage the Church of *England?* As to the inferiour Clergy, he ſays, *p.* 157. *The Churches were peſtered with abundance of meer Readers, Drunken, Profane, and Debauched Men: and many that had more plauſible Tongues, made it their chief buſineſs to bring thoſe they called Puritans into diſgrace. So that I muſt needs ſay, I knew no place in thoſe times* (for he ſpeaks of Men and Places within his knowledge) *where a Man might not more ſafely have been drunk every Week, than to have gone to hear a Sermon if he had none at home.* Nor doth he ſpare thoſe that died long before his memory, *p.* 143. *What Toys and Triſles did the ancient Reverend Fathers of the Church peſter the Church with? And what uſeleſs Stuff are many of their Canons compoſed of? Three lamentable Vices did the Prelates of the Church commonly abound in; Pride the Root, and Contention and Vain-glory the Fruit, &c.* to *p.* 149. where he is not aſhamed to tell the World what Troubles the firſt Non-

conformiſts raiſed at *Frankfort* againſt thoſe Reformers and Confeſſors that were Exiled for maintaining the ſame Worſhip and Liturgy, for the defence of which many Biſhops and Miniſters were ſuffering Martyrdom under the Papiſts. *No ſooner were they* (the Nonconformiſts) *called home*, ſaith he, *p.* 150. *but ſome of them were ſo intemperate, impatient, and unpeaceable, that ſome turned to flat Separation, and flew in the faces of the Prelates with reviling.* Yet Mr. *Baxter* doth the ſame, and accounts the requiring of Uniformity in the ſame or a better Worſhip, to be a Perſecution. As for his Brethren, he profeſſeth to believe, *That* England *never had ſo able and faithful a Miniſtry ſince it was a Nation as at this day, viz.* Decemb. 4. 1655. in the heat of Rebellion; yet he affirms, *Sure I am, the change is ſo great within theſe Twelve years, that it is one of the greateſt joys that ever I had in the World to behold it.* But for the Prelatical Party, he brings in ſome, ſaying, *They are all empty, careleſs, if not ſcandalous and ungodly men.* And may we not conclude, as Mr. *Baxter* doth, *p.* 167. *This is not a confeſſing ſin, but an applauding thoſe whoſe ſins they pretend to confeſs?* Mr. *Baxter* calls this Book *Gildas Salvianus*; but he might have more truly entitled it *Excidium Britannicum:* for that followed on it.

How Mr. *Baxter* can be excuſed from the guilt of Schiſm, in the departing from the Communion of the Church, after his Ordination

nation and Subſcription, and Solemn Vows then made, for more than Twenty years before the Impoſitions and Penalties enjoyned by the Secular Powers, which he pleaded in his juſtification after the year 63. will be a very difficult, if not an impoſſible work to him that conſiders Mr. *Baxter*'s circumſtances and actings. I ſhall therefore only ſhew the heinous nature of that Sin, as deſcribed by Mr. *Baxter* himſelf, *p.* 741. of his *Chriſtian Directory.*

That Schiſm is a ſin againſt ſo many clear and vehement words of the Holy Ghoſt, that it is utterly without excuſe; Whoredoms, and Treaſon, and Perjury are not oftner forbidden in the Goſpel than this. That it is contrary to the very deſign of Chriſt in our Redemption, which was to reconcile us all to God. That it is contrary to the deſign of the Spirit of Grace, and the Nature of Chriſtianity; a ſin againſt the neareſt bonds of our higheſt relations; a dividing of Chriſt, or robbing him of a great part of his Inheritance. That it is accompanied with Self-ignorance, Pride and Unthankfulneſs to God. That Church-dividers are the moſt ſucceſsful Servants of the Devil, and ſerve him more effectually than open Enemies. That it is a ſin which contradicteth all God's Ordinances and Means of Grace; a ſin againſt as great and lamentable Experiences, as almoſt any ſin can be; and this is a heinous aggravation of it, that it is commonly juſtified, and not repented of by thoſe that

commit it; and the more heinous, that it is commonly fathered upon God: Therefore remember this, that Schism and making Parties in the Church, is not so small a thing as many take it for.

Yet this pious Man, to keep his Proselytes from ever returning or repenting for Schism, tells them in the Preface to his *Plea for Peace*, *That more like truth hath been said for the lawfulness of Anabaptism, Polygamy, Drunkenness, Stealing and Lying in case of Necessity, than any thing he ever yet read of for a full Conformity*, as he their describeth it. Behold here the great Charity of Mr. *Baxter*, which he extends rather to the Congregations of Schismatical Anabaptists, and such as live in those detestable sins of Polygamy, Drunkenness, Lying and Stealing, than to the most Solemn Assemblies of Conformists, to which yet he hath often joyned himself in Communion. How great soever his Knowledge was, how strong soever his Faith, yet wanting Charity, the Sacred Scripture assures us, that such a Man is but as *sounding Brass or a tinkling Cymbal.*

In the year 1658. just Ten years after that the best of Kings suffered by the worst of Men, Mr. *Baxter* sets forth his *Grotian Religion*; and through *Grotius*'s sides, strikes at the Head and Members of the Church of *England* with one blow: For *the Grotian design* (*i. e.* Popery) *was carrying on*, saith he, *in the Church of* England; and *that this was the cause*

cauſe of all our Wars and Changes in England, *p.* 105. where he thus talks concerning the Royal Martyr, beyond any thing that his barbarous Judges could accuſe him of. — *How far the King was inclined to a Reconciliation* (with the Church of *Rome*) *I only deſire you to judge:* 1. *By the Articles of the Spaniſh and French Match ſworn to.* 2. *By his Letter to the Pope written in* Spain. 3. *By his choice of Agents in Church and State.* 4. *By the Reſidence of the Pope's Nuntio here, and the Colledge of the Jeſuits,* &c. 5. *By the illegal Innovations in Worſhip ſo reſolvedly gradatim introduced. All which I ſpeak not with the leaſt deſire to perſwade Men that he was a Papiſt — but only to ſhew, that while he as a moderate Proteſtant* (*i. e.* a Papiſt in Maſquerade, as they are now termed) *took hands with the Queen a moderate Papiſt, the* Grotian *deſign had great advantage in* England, *which he himſelf boaſted of,* p. 106. Of this indignity to that Religious Prince, the Learned Biſhop *Bramhal*, p. 617. of his Works, took notice, and vindicated him: of which Mr. *Baxter* being told by a Book called the *Impleader*, who ſaid only, that Mr. *Baxter gave ſeveral intimations that the King was Popiſhly affected*; he numbers that among other lies of that Author, *p.* 100. of his *third Defence*; and ſays, *Why did not the Man tell where and when; and that he had printed the contrary in times of Uſurpa-*

Another Cauſe of the War not Epiſcopal.

tion; and that he is a Calumniator unleſs he prove it? Why did he not cite Biſhop Bramhal's *proof —and you ſee that a Calumniator with them is no ſingular perſon; they are not aſhamed to tell the world that their Archbiſhops lead them, and are as bad as they.* It ſeems Mr. *Baxter* was pinched by this Relation, which makes him cry out, *I have printed the contrary. See what theſe ſort of Men are come to! What credit is to be given to ſuch Men's Reports! Is this it in which the Authority of Archbiſhops conſiſts, that they muſt be followed in ſlanders*, &c. I have ſaved the Impleader the labour of quoting the place, and deſire the Reader to conſult it, and ſee how maliciouſly and groundleſs he urged thoſe things againſt the King at ſuch a time as that. But Mr. *Baxter* ſays, *he printed the contrary in times of Uſurpation.* That time which now he calls a time of Higheſt Uſurpation, was the ſame which he then lookt on as a bleſſed time, when *Richard Cromwel piouſly, prudently, and faithfully, to his immortal honour*, exerciſed the Government, 1659. and to him he dedicated that Book, wherein he ſays he wrote the contrary, *p.* 327. where having accuſed the new Epiſcopal Party for following *Grotius*, he adds, *As for the King himſelf, that was their Head, if any conjecture that he was a flat Papiſt*, &c. Mr. *Baxter believes him not*; but he was *the head of the* Grotian *Papiſts; and he himſelf boaſted of it (ubi ſuprà.)* Now if any would know how far *Grotius* was a Papiſt

piſt (he ſays) *he was a more arrant Papiſt than* Caſſander, *and one that owned the Council of* Trent; *And ſuch I think are flat Papiſts.* And therefore it was no lie in the *Impleader*, to ſay Mr. *Baxter* gave intimations that the King was Popiſhly affected; but a groſs one in Mr. *Baxter* to deny it, and give him the lie, as he doth impudently to others. But Mr. *Baxter* ſays, *He did not believe it himſelf, that the King was a flat Papiſt:* Then his iniquity was the greatter, to give ſo many inſtances by way of proof, that others might believe it. Did not Mr. *Baxter* know that the fear of introducing Popery was made one ground of the War againſt the King? and may he not make it a ground of another War, becauſe the King adheres to his Biſhops, whom Mr. *Baxter* calls *Popiſh Clergy-men?* And he ſays, *That the Parliament, whom they were bound to believe, made it their great Argument and Advantage againſt the King, that he favoured the Papiſts; and on this ſuppoſition* (ſaith he) *Thouſands came in to fight for their Cauſe.* And they made one Article againſt the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *That he endeavoured to introduce Popery*, though he were indeed one of their greateſt Adverſaries, whoſe Life on that account they endeavoured to take away. And the Relation of Dr. *Du Moulin*, *That at the Death of the King, a known Papiſt was heard to ſay, That now their greateſt Enemy was cut off*, is very credible. But Mr. *Baxter* knew that old Maxime, *Fortiter Calumniare*,

niare, aliquid adhærebit. It is no honeſt Man's part, firſt to break a Man's Head, and then to give him a Plaiſter; which if it be not too narrow to heal the Sore, or ineffectual to cure it, yet may leave ſome ugly Scar behind.

Dr. *Pierce* hath given many more Arguments to prove Mr. *Baxter* a Papiſt, than he hath given of King *Charles* the Firſt: And if his actings for Forty years together be well conſidered, it will appear he hath been made uſe of as one of the moſt keen and Catholick Tools that ever the Papacy did employ, whether he knows it or not. It is, I confeſs, a difficult thing to tell the World what Perſwaſion Mr. *Baxter* was of as to Church-government, whether Epiſcopal, Presbyterian, or Independant; he hath been of all, and I think he is now of neither, having a peculiar Model of his own.

In a Book called *A Method for Peace*, &c. printed 1653. I find him to favour *Lay-Elders*, though in other Writings he condemned them as Superſtitious; but by a paſſage in *p.* 341. he ſeems reconcileable to them: for thus he ſaith, *Nothing almoſt is wanting to us to ſet our Congregations in the Order of Chriſt, and to the great Work of Reformation, ſo much as want of Maintenance for a competent number of Miniſters or Elders to attend the Work: We have divers godly private Chriſtians capable of helping us as Officers in our Churches*; by which I ſuppoſe he intends *Lay-Elders*, although

though I cannot certainly affirm what his Judgment is concerning them: for he would willingly ſet up a new Model of his own, (*i. e.*) a mixture of Epiſcopal, Presbyterian, Independent Government; but declares for neither of them. It is more certain, that he once profeſſed himſelf a Conformiſt, and diſputed for Biſhops and Liturgy as by Law eſtabliſhed; and he thought he had ever the better: yet if it be true that he had a prejudice againſt them ever ſince he was Nineteen years old, it was rather to betray than defend them. But in an Aſſize-Sermon preached 1654. at *Worceſter*, *p.* 191. he pleads for the Presbyterian Government, in theſe words: *How long hath* England *rebelled againſt his* (Chriſt's) *Government? Mr.* Udal *told them in the days of Queen* Elizabeth, *That if they would not ſet up the Diſcipline of Chriſt in the Church, Chriſt would ſet it up himſelf in a way that ſhould make their hearts to ake: I think* (ſaith Mr. *Baxter*) *their hearts have aked by this time; and as they judged him to the Gallows for his Prediction, ſo hath Chriſt executed them by Thouſands for their Rebellion againſt him.* Now it is evident what Diſcipline *Udal* meant, by his Confederacy with *Coppinger*, *Penry*, &c. of which *Cambden*, p. 420. of his *Eliz. Angl.* ſays, *Some of thoſe Men who were great Admirers of the* Geneva Diſcipline, *thought there was no better way for eſtabliſhing it in* England, *than by railing againſt the Engliſh Hierarchy, and ſtirring up the People*

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to a diſlike of Biſhops. They therefore ſet forth ſcandalous Books againſt the Government of the Church, and Prelates; as *Martin Mar-Prelate*, *Minerals*, *Diotrephes*, *A Demonſtration of Diſcipline*, &c. In which Libels they ſet forth virulent Calumnies, and opprobrious Taunts and Reproaches, in ſuch manner, as the Authours ſeemed rather Scullions out of the Kitchin, than pious and godly Men: yet the Authours were *Penry* and *Udal*, Miniſters of the Word. Biſhop *Bancroft* quoteth a Pamphlet of Mr. *Udal*'s, called *A Dialogue*, where he ſays, *That the Biſhops Callings are meer Antichriſtian*, p. 59. of *Dangerous Poſitions*; and *p.* 45. he ſays, *They were very deviliſh and infamous Dialogues, and that there was a Conſpiracy between* Coppinger, Wigginton, *&c. by ſome extraordinary means* (ſuch as *Udal* had propheſied ſhould make their hearts to ake) *for releaſing of ſome that ſtood in danger of their lives*; *meaning, as I ſuppoſe*, ſays the Biſhop, *Udal*, *Newman*, &c. The dangers threatned by ſuch extraordinary means to diſturb the Goverment, haſtned the Trial of *Udal*, who with three others, took occaſion from the intended Invaſion in 88, to alarm the Nation at home; as alſo they did on the Powder Plot, and to this day do, by ſcattering ſeditious Pamphlets. *Udal* was charged with a Book called *A Demonſtration of Diſcipline which Chriſt hath preſcribed in his Word for the government of his Church, in all times and places to the Worlds end.*

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The Preface was directed *To the ſuppoſed Governours of the Church of* England; to whom he ſays, *Who can deny you, without bluſhing, to be the cauſe of all ungodlineſs, ſeeing your Government is that which giveth leave to a Man to be any thing, ſave a ſound Chriſtian? for certainly it's more free in theſe days to be a Papiſt, Anabaptiſt, of the Family of Love, yea, as any moſt wicked, rather than what we ſhould be: And I could live theſe Twenty years as well as any ſuch in* England, *yea, in a Biſhop's Houſe it may be, and never be moleſted for it. So true is that you are charged with in a Dialogue lately come forth, and by you burnt, that you care for nothing but the Maintenance of your Dignities, be it to the damnation of your own Souls, and infinite millions more.* The whole Book being like this Preface, he was indicted at the Aſſizes held at *Croyden*, and found guilty. He pleaded *That he was indicted on the Statute of* 23 *of* Eliz. c. 2. *for publiſhing ſeditious words againſt the Queen, but that the Book charged on him, contained no ſeditious words againſt the Queen, but the Biſhops only.* But it was anſwered by the Judges (N. B.) *That they who ſpake againſt her Majeſty's Government in Caſes Eccleſiaſtical, her Laws, Proceedings, or Eccleſiaſtical Officers which ruled under her, did defame the Queen.* And on clear proof that he was the Authour of that Libel, he was found guilty, and received Sentence of Death; but by interceſſion of Archbiſhop *Whitgift*, was Reprieved. Mr. *Baxter's*

actings

actings have been ſo like Mr. *Udal*'s, that it is no wonder to find him labouring to juſtifie him in a Cauſe wherein himſelf is ſo nearly concerned.

In 1659. came forth Mr. *Baxter*'s *Key for Catholicks*, dedicated *To his Highneſs* Richard *Lord Protector*, p. 323. where he aſſerts, *That if the Body of a Commonwealth, or thoſe that have part in the Legiſlative Power, and ſo in the Supremacy, ſhould be unwillingly engaged in a War with the Prince, (ſuppoſe the Long Parliament, or the Commonwealth under* Oliver *againſt King* Charles *the Firſt) and after many years Blood and Deſolations, judiciouſly take away his Life as guilty of all this Blood, and not to be truſted any more with Government, (as the Parliaments Vote for Non-addreſs to the King.) And all this they do, not as Private Men, but as the remaining Soveraign Power, and ſay they do it according to Law; undoubtedly this caſe doth very much differ from the Powder Plot, or Papiſts murdering of Kings.* With much more to the ſame evil purpoſe. And doubtleſs the difference is great; it is more horrid for Subjects to pretend Juſtice, than for the Pope to attempt by ſecret Plots to deſtroy a Proteſtant Prince. In the year 58. he prints his *Five Diſputations of Church Government*; which were deſigned againſt reſtoring the extruded Epiſcopacy and Liturgy, and to juſtifie the Presbyterian Ordination, where (as alſo in his *Method for Peace*, p.389.) he ſaith, *We have taken*

taken down the ſuperfluous honour of Biſhops, (viz. *their power over Presbyters*) *as Antichriſtian.* This diſputatious Book (he ſays) was written againſt Dr. *Hammond*, who was then his Neighbour; and he dealt very friendly with him: for he ſcarce touched one of his Arguments, but the deſign of the Book was to deſtroy the whole Order, as *Optatus* ſaid of a Donatiſt, *Dei Epiſcopos linguæ gladio jugulaſti, fundens ſanguinem non corporis ſed honoris*, Opt. Milevit. l. 2.

And becauſe after *No Biſhop* follows *No King*, in 1659. he ſets forth his *Holy Commonwealth*; which was no other than a Plot to keep out the *King*, as the other was to keep out the *Biſhops:* for there being great hopes that upon ſo many Revolutions of Government we ſhould ſettle again on our ancient Foundations, he ſays, *He ſuited that Book to the demands and doubts of thoſe times.* And his endeavour is to prove, *That the King being ſecluded, and his Subjects diſcharged of their Obedience, ought not to be readmitted.* Thus in the Preface: *That a Succeſſion of wiſe and godly Men, may be ſecured to the Nation in the higheſt Power, is that I have directed you the way to in this Book.* And thus he explains himſelf: Firſt, as to the higher Powers; *Prove*, ſaith he, *that the King was the higheſt Power in the times of Diviſion, and that he had power to make that War that he made, and I will offer my Head to Juſtice as a Rebel.* Theſe confident

confident Aſſertions of his were ſuch as brought a far better Head to the Block. But what would Mr. *Baxter* have? *My wiſh is*, ſaith he, *that our Parliaments may be holy, and this aſcertained from Generation to Generation, by ſuch a neceſſary Regulation of Elections, that all thoſe who by wickedneſs have forfeited their Liberties* (*i. e.* the King and Loyal Party) *may neither chooſe nor be choſen. And the reducing Elections to faithful, honeſt, upright men, ſuch as* (he ſays) *were then in* Richard Cromwel's *Parliament, is the only, only, only way to a certain and perpetual Peace and Happineſs.* He commends *Richard Cromwel*, as *one that inherited his Father's Vertue*; one that *piouſly, prudently, and faithfully, to his immortal Honour, exerciſed the Government*; perſwades *all men to live in obedience to him*; and ſtiles himſelf (in the Epiſtle to his *Five Diſputations*, deſiring his favourable acceptance of the tendered Service of) *a faithful Subject to his Highneſs, as an Officer of the Univerſal King*, R.B. Doth not this Man affirm, notwithſtanding all the Confuſion that had covered the Land, all the Blood that had been ſhed, and all the Hereſies and Blaſphemies that had poiſoned millions of Souls, that he is one that *rejoyceth in the preſent happineſs of* England, *and honoureth all the Providences of God by which we have been brought to what we are?* Epiſtle Dedic. to *Richard* before his *Key for Catholiks*; and in his *Holy Commonwealth*, p. 487. *Nor can I be ſo unthank-*

unthankful as to ſay, for all the ſins and miſcarriages of Men ſince, that we have not received much mercy from the Lord. And therefore he ſets up his Stone of Remembrance, with this Inſcription in great Letters: *HITHERTO HATH THE LORD HELPED US.*

Is it poſſible, that a Man who hath ſaid and done ſuch barbarous unnatural Deeds, and ſtirred up many Thouſands to do and ſay the ſame things with him, ſhould ſtill deceive the meaneſt Chriſtians? Is it poſſible he ſhould ſtill perſiſt in the ſame, and yet retain the opinion of a Saint? and be reputed the chiefeſt Guide of a Godly People? Yet thus it is: He is conſulted as the Oracle of the Non-conformiſts; *All of them*, as a late *Encomiaſt* ſays, *do light their Fires at his Torch.* And he hath the forehead with the ſtrange Woman, to *wipe his mouth, and ſay, What have I done?* You may gueſs by what he ſays: *I muſt profeſs, that if I had taken up Arms in that War againſt the Parliament*, (he ſays it, *p.* 488. of *Holy Commonwealth*) *my Conſcience tells me I had been a Traytor, and guilty of reſiſting the Higher Powers.* And in his *Key for Catholicks*, where the *Legiſlative Power* and *higheſt Judicial Power* is divided by Conſtitution of the Government *between the Prince and Senate*, (as he determines the Engliſh Monarchy to be) he ſays modeſtly there, many will think; but he elſewhere delivers it as his own Sentiment, *That the Prince invading the Senates Right,*

may juſtly be reſiſted and loſe his Right, p. 324. Yet this Man ſays, *Further than I was for the King, I never was one year with the ſtronger ſide:* As if he had been always Loyal. And *p.* 489. of *Commonw. If any of them* (i. e. his Accuſers) *can prove that I was guilty of hurt to the Perſon, or deſtruction to the Power of the King, or of changing the Fundamental Conſtitution of the Commonwealth*, (not the Kingdom) *taking down the Houſe of Lords without conſent of all three Eſtates that had a part in the Sovereignty; I will never gain-ſay them if they call me a moſt perfidious Rebel, and tell me that I am guilty of far greater ſin than Murder, Whoredom, or Drunkenneſs.* And *Anno* 1680. he is not aſhamed to ſay in his Preface to the ſecond part of the *Nonconformiſts Plea*,—— *In all the times of Uſurpation, and ſince, I ſaid and wrote that the King's Perſon is inviolable, and to be judged by none, either Peer or Parliament: And the Book accuſed* (i. e. the *Holy Commonw.*) *goeth on theſe Principles.* So that notwithſtanding his pretence of recanting what was there ſaid, he ſtill ſeems to juſtifie thoſe *Theſes*, and adds, *The Book accuſed hath not a word meet to tempt a Man in his wits to ſuch accuſation:* Yet he ſays, *Theſ.* 352. *Though a Nation wrong their King, and ſo* quoad meritum Cauſæ *they are on the worſer ſide, yet may he not lawfully war againſt the Common Good*, (i. e. the rebellious Party) *or on that account; nor any help him in that War.* And *Theſ.* 374. *If*

If a Prince that hath not the whole Soveraignty (which he ſays of our King) *be conquered by the Senate that hath the other part, and that in a juſt defenſive War*, (as he thought the late War to be) *the Senate cannot aſſume the whole Soveraignty, but ſuppoſeth that Government* in ſpecie *to remain: and therefore another King muſt be choſen.* This was pleaſing Doctrine in the Protector's time. And *Theſ.* 137. *If Providence* (*i. e.* Succeſs in Rebellion) *ſtatedly diſable him that was the Soveraign from executing of Laws, protecting the Juſt, and other ends of Government, it maketh him an uncapable Subject of the Power, and ſo depoſeth him.* And being ſo made uncapable of Government, *by Theſ.* 146. *Though he were unjuſtly diſpoſſeſt, it is not the duty of his Subjects to ſeek his Reſtitution.* The Reader hath heard of a famous Roman Saint called *Ignatius*, who, if compared with others of that Church, we may ſay of him as one doth of Mr. *Baxter*, That *he exceeds them as much as a Flint doth a Freeſtone*, becauſe out of him ſo many Fires have and may be kindled. If ſuch an Hiſtorian as *Plutarch* were now living, how eaſily might he run a Parallel between theſe two Generals? Both were famous *tam Marte quam Mercurio*; but whether of them was the greater Souldier or the better Saint, might occaſion ſome diſpute; the reading whereof would not be altogether ſo ſad, as the reſtleſs endeavours of the Diſciples of them both; who, however

they ſeem to differ in other things, joyn all their hands to pull down our Church. Impiety being grown to ſuch an height, I ſhould think it a thing impoſſible that it ſhould proceed any farther, the wickedneſs and ſhame of it being (notwithſtanding any pretence) manifeſted to all Men: and that upon the joyful tidings of his Majeſty's moſt happy return in peace, by a moſt miraculous and admirable Providence, the Authours of ſuch Opinions and Practices ſhould ſeek where to hide their heads. But we are told, that *Rebellion is as the ſin of Witchcraft*, which ſeldom admits repentance; and though they have power to do hurt, yet they have none to do good. Hence it is that this confident Man appears ſtill with open face, and purſues the ſame ungodly ends. I know not how it came to paſs, but this ſame Man was admitted to preach a Faſt Sermon to the Houſe of Commons when they were conſulting of inviting home the King to his Father's Throne; and with great boaſting he tells us often, That *the King was called home the next day after that Sermon of his*, as if it had not been done if he had not preached: whereas it is very obſervable, that in all the Sermon there was not one word that might be interpreted to promote that noble Deſign, but many things that were intended to hinder it, or clog it with very diſhonourable terms. He *intimates the Supream Power to be ſtill in the two Houſes.* He tells us indeed, that *Rom.* 13.

13. *is part of the Rule of his Religion*, (and adds) *but unhappily there hath been a difference amongſt us which is the higher Power.* (And be it remembred, that he had offered his Head to Juſtice as a Rebel, if any could prove that the King was the higheſt Power in the time of Diviſion.) Whereas he himſelf confeſſeth, that a *Heathen perſecuting* Nero *muſt be obeyed*; Yet he affirms, That *it was not the intent either of St.* Peter *or St.* Paul, *to determine whether the Emperour or Senate was Supream*; though St. *Peter* plainly determines it, when he calls the King *Supream*; and St. *Paul*, by appealing *not to the Senate*, but to *Cæſar*. In that Sermon he magnifies the Loyalty of the *Presbyterians*; adjures the Commons to an oppoſition of *Epiſcopacy*, though the King in his Meſſage commended it to be as ancient as the Monarchy in this Iſland. And under the Titles of *Sound Doctrine* and *Church Government*, pleads for *Presbytery*; and would (*p.*46.) have the Church Revenues ſetled on them: *p.* 43. ſaying, *Give firſt to God the things that are Gods.* For theſe he pleads, under the name of the *godly, peaceable, and prudent people of the Land*, in oppoſition to the *prophaneneſs:* And to inſinuate new fears and jealouſies, cries out, *O what happy times did we once ſee!* When were thoſe happy times? Not in the peaceable time of King *Charles* the Firſt; thoſe were days of *Profaneneſs* and *Perſecution:* He muſt mean either un-

der the *Long Parliament*, when ſo much Loyal Blood was ſhed; or under the *Protection* of *Oliver*, when the *beſt of Princes* was butchered; or under *Richard*, of whom and his Mock-Parliament he gives ſuch large Encomiums. But now, *Nox una perpetuo manſura*, The days of Light and Jubilee are gone: And (as it is with Bats and Owls) when the Sun appears, their Night is come. He was it ſeems of the ſame mind with his Brother *Jenkins*, who ſaid in a Sermon preached *Sept.*25. 1656. *That the removal of Prelatical Innovations countervailed for the Blood and Treaſure ſhed and ſpent in the late Diſtractions; nor would he redeem all thoſe by the return of the ſame, if it might be done.* For Mr. *Baxter* ſpeaking of Prelatical Men, who condemn the Miniſters and Churches that had not Prelatical Ordination, ſays, *They would ſurely ſilence ſuch Miniſters, and diſſolve ſuch Churches through all the Land, if it were in their power, as it may be* (ſays he) *when our ſins have ripened us for* SO GREAT A PLAGUE, Poſtſcript to *True Cath.* p. 335.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Nec dum finitus Oreſtes.

IF *Great Theodoſius*, as Mr. *Baxter* ſays, (*Treatiſe of Biſhops*, part 1. p. 147.) *did caſt himſelf down on the Earth before* Ambroſe *to beg pardon and re-admiſſion with tears, and was not received till ſome Months continued penance.* If *Great* Mr. *Baxter*, being ſo heinous a Criminal as he hath under his own hand acknowledged, ſhould, after ſuch a miraculous return of the King, humble himſelf before the King and his Nobles in ſuch manner as he promiſed once he would do; it was no more than was his duty, and perhaps not enough to expiate his Crime. Thus then Mr. *Baxter* expoſtulates, *p.* 14. of his Anſwer to *Bagſhaw: Is it poſſible for any ſober Chriſtians in the World to take them to be blameleſs, or thoſe to be little ſins? What, both the violating the Perſon and the Life of ſo good a King? and the change of the fundamental Government or Conſtitution? The ſetting up the Protector, and pulling him down again?* &c. *If all this were no Rebellion, Treaſon, or Murder, is there any ſuch Crimes to be committed? If I was guilty of ſuch ſins,* (Habemus confitentem Reum) *I do openly confeſs, that if I lay in ſackcloth and in*

tears, and did lament my ſins before the World, and beg pardon both of God and Man, and beg all Men to take warning by my fall, which had done ſuch unſpeakable wrong both to Chriſt and Men, I ſhould do no more than the plain Light of Nature aſſureth me to be my great and needful duty, p. 17.

But he that had the confidence to meet the old King and his Armies in the Field, (now that the Sword is taken out of his hands) wants not confidence to take up his Pen, as dangerous a Weapon, and moſt maliciouſly handled, and to affront the then preſent King before he be well ſetled on his Throne, *in this Military way*, as he terms it in his *Third Plea, page* the laſt. And though his Fraternity could not be permitted to bring him under Articles before, yet they vigorouſly attempt it after his return. The firſt attempt was concerning a Declaration to be extorted from the King about Eccleſiaſtial Affairs: *We offered his Majeſty and the Biſhops, at firſt, the Archbiſhop* Uſher's *Model for Concord: Treatiſe of Epiſc.* Part 2. p. 53. The Biſhops would not once take it into conſideration, nor ſo much as vouchſafe to talk of it, or bring it under any deliberation. They knew whence it came, not from the Archbiſhops, but the Presbyterian Forge: Mr. *Baxter* confeſſeth, *p.* 87. ſecond part, *They that would have conformed to his Majeſty's Declaration* (which, as you ſhall hear anon, they had cauſed to be drawn according to their Model)

Model) *went on this Suppoſition, that the Species of Prelacy was altered by it: and yet on theſe terms they would unite with the Prelatiſts, only ſo far as to go in a peaceable performance of their Office, p.* 116. (juſt as now they do.) In that 116 *p.* Mr. *Baxter* ſuppoſeth this Objection againſt the Declaration; (for I can ſcarce call it his Majeſty's, being by the neceſſity of times, and the importunity of troubleſome Men, extorted from him.) Obj. *You did but obtrude on us your own Opinions: for when you had drawn up moſt of thoſe words, his Majeſty was forced to ſeem for the preſent to grant them to you, for the quieting of you.* Anſw. *p.* 117. *If we did offer ſuch things,* (for it was in vain to deny it) *let the World judge what we ſought by them.* 2. *There is moſt of that about Rural Deans put in, I ſuppoſe, by the Biſhops conſent, who were to word it after it went* FROM US; (a good office indeed, to whet a Sword to cut their own Throats, and be the Presbyterians Journey-men to their own undoing.) For Thirdly, *Whoever mentioned or deſired it? it appears that the work of Juriſdiction, Excommunication, Abſolution, no nor Ordination, was not thought to be above the Office of a Presbyter*; that is, They would have robbed the Biſhops of all their Power and Authority, and taken it to themſelves; and then they would go on peaceably in the performance of their Office: and therefore it is no wonder that the Biſhops refuſed to conſider

of

of ſuch a Model, *And that very Parliament that had ſo much manners as to thank his Majeſty for that Declaration* (which others have not done for the Act of *Oblivion*) *did lay it by, ſo that it was never done, but other Laws eſtabliſhed which we feel*, ſaith Mr. *Baxter*.

I cannot paſs by that vain-glorious boaſting of his ſo often mentioned, how ſoon the Archbiſhop of *Armagh* and he was agreed as to Epiſcopacy, *&c. in half an hour:* and in another place, *in a quarter of an hour:* when indeed the Model which he calls the Archbiſhop's, was publiſhed after the beginning of our Wars, to put a ſtop to that utter Confuſion then intended by the total Extirpation of Epiſcopacy, and not as a Pattern for 1660. He ſays, one Mr. *Stanly* of *Dorcheſter* told him, *That Archbiſhop* Uſher *did profeſs to him, that he took a Biſhop to be* Primas Presbyterorum, *of the ſame Order*; *and every Presbyter to be a Governour of the Flock:* and when he asked him, *Why then he would be a Primate?* he told him, *That he took it not for any part of his Office, but for a collateral Dignity which the King was pleaſed to beſtow on him.* And *that Biſhop* Reynolds *profeſſed to him his Opinion to be the ſame when he took the Biſhoprick.* At Biſhop *Reynolds* I cannot wonder; perhaps he cared not for the Species of Epiſcopacy, which this Opinion of his deſtroys, but the ſubſtantial advantage: His Biſhoprick was managed partly by his Wife,

who

who viſited the Conventicles, and his Chancellor, *who*, as Mr. *Baxter* ſays, *p.* 184. of *Treatiſe of Epiſcopacy, had been a Judge-advocate in* Fairfax's *or* Cromwel's *Army.* But that Archbiſhop *Uſher*, who ſo long and ſo laudably exerciſed the Juriſdiction of an Archbiſhop, ſhould act againſt his Judgment and Conſcience, Mr. *Baxter* nor Mr. *Stanley* ſhall ever make ſuch as knew any thing of that good Man to believe: ſomething he might do in that neceſſary time, for the reduction of the Church, which was then in a miſerable confuſion, to ſome order and government; but he never intended that Model which Mr. *Baxter* calls his, and which altered the very Species of Epiſcopacy, for the reduction of Epiſcopacy. The Biſhop's Practice for ſo many years, is an undeniable Argument of his Judgment for Epiſcopacy. Dr. *Bernard* confutes all ſuch Slanders, having recorded the Archbiſhop's Judgment in theſe words: *Holding as I do that a Biſhop hath* SUPERIORITY IN DEGREE ABOVE A PRESBYTER, *you may eaſily judge that the Ordination made by ſuch Presbyters as have ſevered themſelves from thoſe Biſhops unto whom they had ſworn Canonical Obedience, cannot poſſibly be excuſed by me from being Schiſmatical.* But Mr. *Baxter* hath well obſerved, That *Faction is one of the greateſt Lyars* (and I may add, *the greateſt Slanderers*) *in the World.*

It is uſual with Mr. *Baxter* from the Conceſſions of Men in Caſes of Neceſſity, to frame an Argument againſt their free and moſt deliberate Judgment; as he hath moſt injuriouſly dealt with his late Majeſty in his Conceſſions to the Nineteen Propoſitions of the Parliament, which he made for Peace ſake, wherein he condeſcended to part with much of his right, but could not be heard. Archbiſhop *Uſher* was tranſlated to *Armagh*, March 22. 1624. and died *March* 21. 1655. ſo that he continued in that See 31 years, and doubtleſs did not act againſt his Conſcience all that time. I cannot give you his Judgment in all our controverted Points: One thing is very conſiderable which he delivered in a Speech at the Caſtle of *Dublin* before the Lord Deputy and the great Aſſembly, *April* the laſt, 1627. concerning a Supply of Money to be granted the King, *p.* 80. of Dr. *Barnard*'s Sermon: *In this caſe give me leave as a Divine to tell you plainly, that to ſupply the King with means for the neceſſary defence of the Country, is not a thing left to your own diſcretion either to do or not to do; but a matter of Duty, which in Conſcience you ſtand bound to perform. The Apoſtle,* Romans 13. *having affirmed, that* we muſt be ſubject to the Higher Powers, not only for Wrath, but Conſcience ſake, *adds this as a reaſon to confirm it*; For, for this Cauſe you pay Tribute alſo; *as if the denying of ſuch payment could not ſtand with conſcionable*

ſcionable Subjection: thereupon he infers this Concluſion, Render therefore to all their due, Tribute to whom Tribute, Cuſtom to whom Cuſtom is due, *agreeable to that known Leſſon which he had learned of our Saviour*, Render unto *Cæſar* the things that are *Cæſar's*, &c. *where you may obſerve, That as to with-hold from God the things which are Gods, Man is ſaid to be a robber of God, whereof he himſelf complains in caſe of ſubſtracting Tythes: ſo to deny a Supply to* Cæſar *of ſuch means as are neceſſary for ſupport of his Kingdom, can be accounted no leſs than a robbing of him of that which is his due; which I wiſh you ſeriouſly to conſider*——And in this Mr. *Baxter* and many of his Perſwaſion will be Diſſenters from the Archbiſhop, and ſo they would from his Model alſo; for why elſe did they not ſhew any readineſs to accept it when it was firſt propoſed? Nothing would pleaſe them then, but *the Extirpation of Epiſcopacy Root and Branch.* And ſecondly, the Archbiſhop's Model preſerves that Species of *Dioceſan Biſhops*, which Mr. *Baxter* would deſtroy, and (Thirdly) under which Mr. *Baxter* makes Chriſt's true Diſcipline impracticable. Nor will any Government pleaſe Mr. *Baxter* as long as the *Liturgy is eſtabliſhed*, which he fancieth to abound with many heinous ſins, whereof, as long as any one is retained, *Conformity* is to him impoſſible.

Mr.

Mr. *Baxter* hath been always oppoſing the Party that was uppermoſt. He began with the *King and Biſhops:* then with the *Presbyters,* oppoſing their Doctrine in the Confeſſion of Faith, ſee *p.* 20. of Mr. *Baxter's Confeſſion.* And their Diſcipline by *Lay-Elders.* And *p.* 83. of his *Apology, When the Presbyterians ſeemed uppermoſt, I was looked on as a Diſſenter: When the* Rump *was uppermoſt, I was by their order* (de jure) *Sequeſtred: With the* Army *I was out much more:* Cromwel *was not for me, becauſe I was not for him.* And yet he was ſo much for him, as to leave it on record, That *if the Lord Protector had not ſtept in all the Miniſtry had been taken down.* And *whence came it,* (ſays he, *p.* 321. of his *Key for Catholicks*) *that* Sexby *and others that have been Souldiers in our Armies, have confederated with* Spain *to murder the Lord Protector? And whence came their Jeſuitical Treaſonable Pamphlets,* (ſuch as *Killing no Murder,* whoſe Author is known to be no Jeſuit) *provoking Men to take away his Life?* Whence is it that Mr. *Baxter* prays that his Son *Richard* might *inherit a tender care of the Churches of Chriſt,* if he were ſo much againſt *Oliver?* The plain truth is, he was neither for *Oliver* nor *Richard,* but ſo far only as to hinder the return of *his Majeſty* and *the Church* to their lawful and ancient Rites. In his gracious Declaration concerning Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, his Majeſty deſired the Diſſenters

ters *to read as much of the Common Prayer as they had no juſt Exceptions againſt.* But though Mr. *Baxter* and others of his Brethren had profeſſed that *they could uſe the greateſt part of it*, we never heard that they gratified his Majeſty in the reading ſo much as one Collect; but inſtead thereof, they petition for *a Reformation both of Doctrine and Diſcipline:* and particularly, they petition his Majeſty *that ſome Learned, Godly, and Moderate Divines of both Perſwaſions, indifferently choſen, may be employed to compile ſuch a new Form*, as they there deſcribed, *or at leaſt to reviſe and effectually reform the old*, &c. The King denies the firſt part, of making a *New Liturgy*; and tells them he had in his Declaration of *Octob.* 25. expreſſed *his eſteem of the Liturgy of the Church of* England: but grants the ſecond, and authorizeth certain Perſons *to adviſe upon and review the ſaid Book, comparing the ſame with the moſt ancient Liturgies: And, if reaſon be, to make ſuch reaſonable and neceſſary alterations, corrections, and amendments, as ſhould be thought needful*, &c. with this ſpecial caution——*Avoiding as much as may be, all unneceſſary abreviations of the Forms and Liturgy wherewith the People are acquainted.* And how thankfully was this received? Mr. *Baxter* tells us, *That he drew up another Liturgy, a Petition for Peace and Concord, and a Reply to the Anſwer of the Biſhops to their Exceptions:* This new Liturgy, though he con-

confeſſeth it had *many imperfections*, and *needed to be amended*, being *the haſty off-ſpring of eight days*; yet he pedantically calls it their *more correct* Nepenthes, *and proteſts before God and Men againſt the doſe of* Opium *which was by the Biſhops preſcribed*, (i. e.) the Liturgy which the King recommended to them) *as that which plainly tended to cure their Diſeaſe by extinguiſhing of Life, and to unite them in a dead Religion.* Dr. Reynolds (*he confeſſeth*) *blamed them for offering a new Liturgy inſtead of additional Forms*; but they would have their *New* (or) *nothing:* And tells the Biſhops, *If theſe be all the abatements and amendments you will admit, you ſell your innocency and the Churches peace for nothing*; (which is indeed ſomewhat cheaper than that for which his Brethren ſold the *King*, and thoſe other things to boot.) I have heard it credibly reported by ſome Reverend perſons there preſent, that that Treaty might have had the deſired effect of Concord, had not Mr. *Baxter* ſo obſtinately reſiſted: Particularly, the Learned Biſhop of *Cheſter* told Mr. *Iſaak Walton*, that Dr. *Sanderſon* ſaid, *There was a certain perſon there* (Mr. *Baxter* knows whom he meant) *that appeared to be ſo bold, troubleſome, and illogical, as forced the meek Doctor to ſay, with an unuſual earneſtneſs, that he never met with a Man of more pertinacious Confidence, and leſs Abilities, in all his converſation.* And the Reverend Biſhop of *Worceſter* in his Letter, *p.* 13. affirms, *That* Mr. *Baxter's furious*

furious eagerneſs to engage in a Diſputation to which his Brethren ſhewed themſelves unwilling, did *wholly fruſtrate the way that tended to an amiable and fair compliance.*

His *Petition for Peace* then, was like his *Pleas* now, meer threatning and reviling. *Take heed* (ſays he, *p.* 5.) *how you drive men by Penalties upon that which they judge doth tend to their Damnation.* And *p.* 14. *The denial of their deſires would renew all our troubles.* p. 18. they tell the Biſhops of *unmerciful Impoſitions.* Nor did they deal better with the King, whom they deſired to leave out of his Declaration theſe words: *We do not in Our Judgements believe the practice of thoſe particular Ceremonies we except againſt to be in it ſelf unlawful*; that is, we account them unlawful. They tell the Biſhops in the cloſe of the Second Paper, *If they will grant thoſe favours, it would revive their Hearts to daily and earneſt Prayer for their proſperity:* But *p.* 12. *Should we loſe the opportunity of our deſired Reconciliation, it aſtoniſheth us to foreſee what doleful effects our Diviſions would produce; which we will not ſo much as mention in particular, leſt our words ſhould be miſunderſtood.* And *p.* 117. of their Reply: *As* Baſil *ſaid to* Valens *the Emperour, that would have him pray for the life of his Son, If thou wilt receive the true Faith, thy Son ſhall live; which when he refuſed, he ſaid, The will of God be done with thy Son: So we ſay too, If you will put on Charity, and promote the Churches Peace, God*

will honour you; but if you will do contrary, the will of the Lord be done with your Honours. Now what greater insolency could they have used, if the King had been as low as his Father, and the Bishops as obnoxious as Mr. *Baxter* and his Brethren; And who but Mr. *Baxter* could have thought by *a hasty work of eight days*, done in opposition to his Majesty's Commission, and as he confesseth, against the advice of some of his more sober Brethren, to justle out the Liturgy composed by many Martyrs and Confessors, and approved of by the Reformed Churches ever since the Reformation, as his Majesty tells him in that Declaration? To which, though they *now* say they would have submitted, yet could they not *then* at his Majesties request read any part of the Liturgy; though they confessed they could have used almost the whole: But instead thereof, his Majesty complains in that Declaration, of their *restless Spirits*, who continued their bitterness against the Church, and endeavoured to raise Jealousies against his Majesty; and unseasonably Printed, Published, and Dispersed a Declaration to his Majesties reproach. Their whole *Petition* was a Pharisaical Remonstrance of *their own Godliness and Abilities*, and the *Profaneness* of such as were not of their Perswasion; besides their frequent and fearful outcries of *Persecution* and *Sufferings*, when themselves had been the Persecutors for Twenty Years together, and as yet had

had ſuffered nothing but from their own guilty Conſciences, and juſt fears.

Well might the Loyal Party have anſwered thoſe Complaints, as once their Independent Brethren did: *Is there the leaſt ſhew of Oppreſſion, Sorrow, or cauſe of Complaint, except it be that you are not ſuffered to oppreſs, vex, and gall your Brethren that joyn not with you? Can you feed upon nothing but the Blood of your Brethren, that* though you are as capable of all Preferments, even Biſhopricks and Deanaries, as any of the Loyal Clergy) *you complain of Slavery and Oppreſſion, becauſe you cannot enſlave and lead into Captivity? Is this to kill you with the Sword, that you cannot* (again) *kill your Brethren with the Sword?* See more to this purpoſe in the *Pulpit-Incendiary*, printed 1648. *p.* 45. Your Renowned Protector *Oliver* ſpeaks home to you at the diſſolution of the Parliament 1654, in theſe words: *Is it ingenuous to ask Liberty, and not to give it? What greater Hypocriſie, than for thoſe who were oppreſſed by the Biſhops, to become the greateſt Oppreſſors themſelves ſo ſoon as the Yoak was removed?* And his Majeſty in the Chapter concerning *the Ordinances againſt Common-Prayer*, to this effect: *I ſee that thoſe are the moſt rigorous exactors upon others to conform to their illegal Novelties, who were leaſt diſpoſed to the due obedience of lawful Conſtitutions: So that I know not whether they ſinned more againſt their Conſciences by violently oppoſing Our eſtabliſhed Order, or*

violently impoſing their own. We have one inſtance more of their dutiful behaviour to his Majeſty, in a Pamphlet called *The due Account and Petition*, which was after the Debate; where they ſay, *We muſt needs believe, that when his Majeſty took our conſent to a Liturgy to be a Foundation that would infer our Concord, you* (*i. e.* his Majeſty) *meant not that we ſhould have no Concord but by conſenting to this Liturgy without any conſiderable alterations.* Whereby they would caſt the Odium of the Rupture on his Majeſty, which they themſelves notoriouſly cauſed; being reſolved before-hand (their Profeſſion in a Liturgy, and accepting his Majeſties Commiſſion only to make ſome *reaſonable Alterations and Additions*, notwithſtanding) to have a *new*, or rather *no Liturgy*; but to be left at liberty to uſe their own Liturgy, or extemporary Effuſions in all the moſt Solemn Adminiſtrations. And whether their Hypocriſie or Inſolency in dealing thus with his Majeſty, to whom they owed their lives, were greater, let the Reader judge.

The Kings Commiſſion dated *March* 25th in the 13th of his Reign was directed to an equal number of Divines, as well on the behalf of the Church Party as of the Diſſenters; among theſe, two, that had been *Covenanters*, were made Biſhops, being eſteemed Men of Moderation and Learning (*viz.*) Dr. *Reynolds* and Dr. *Gauden*: Three others were of the *Smectimnian Club* (*viz.*) *Edmund Calamy*, *Matthew*

Matthew Newcomen, and *William Spurſtow*, who wrote ſeveral ſcandalous Pamphlets againſt Epiſcopacy and Liturgy, in Anſwer to the Right Reverend Biſhop *Hall*, the reſt were Perſons that had been educated under the Diſcipline of the *Covenant* and *Directory*. Among theſe we find Mr. *Richard Baxter*, who had made himſelf conſiderable by his Turbulent Spirit and Bitter Zeal againſt Epiſcopacy and Liturgy, ever ſince the Year 1640, and was become the Head and Protector of divers Factions. And who ſo fit to be the Diſputer and Chief Scribe in this Grand Debate as Mr. *Baxter*. It was he that drew up the Petitions and Addreſſes to the King; It was he that in Eight days time drew up another Liturgy, or rather a Directory, and inſiſted to have that received as the Rule of Publick Devotion, to the excluding of our Liturgy, which had been uſed by the Church of *England* for more than One Hundred Years, and highly approved of by all the Reformed Churches. It was he that drew up the Exceptions againſt the Liturgy, though not like a Wiſe Scribe, for he brought nothing new out of his Treaſury, but only ſuch old Scruples, as had been long before confuted by the two Arch-Biſhops *Bancroft* and *Whitgift*, and other Divines. And theſe with many other ſuch Factious Pamphlets he procures to be Printed and Diſperſed through the Nation. And as is if all his Fellow-Commiſſioners were but

Cyphers, and he the only Perſon that made any Figure, Mr. *Baxter* undertakes to be the Diſputant. At the firſt Congreſs of the Commiſſioners, there happened ſome Diſcourſe among the Epiſcopal Party, how unreaſonable it was to diſturb the Peace of the Church, for ſome inconveniencies in the Liturgy, at the hearing whereof Mr. *Baxter* ſays, *He wondred at the marvellous Oſcitancy of the Biſhops*, p. 343, *as miſtaking the matter to be Diſcourſed of*, for Mr. *Baxter* had found out firſt Eight, then Ten, afterwards Thirty or Forty Tremendous Points, ſo Unlawful and Sinful, that Men fearing God could not ſubmit to. Among theſe, the firſt unlawful Impoſition which was by Mr. *Baxter* choſen to be the Subject of the firſt Diſputation, was; *That to injoyn all Miniſters to deny Communion to all that dare not kneel in the reception of it on the Lords day*, is ſinful. I ſhall not tranſcribe the whole Diſputation, which the Reader may find, *p.* 346, *&c.* And only obſerve what Mr. *Baxter* hath ſpoken concerning that Ceremony; *For he judgeth that poſture as lawful, as for a Perſon to receive a Pardon from his Prince upon his knees.* And Part 3. *Of Chriſt. Direct. That no reaſon can been given, why a lawful thing ſhould become unlawful; becauſe a lawful Superior doth command it, elſe* (ſaith he) *Superiors might take away all our Chriſtian Liberty, and make all things unlawful to us by commanding them.* And it is obſervable, that Mr.

Mr. *Baxter* hoped to enforce his Argument, by adding to the Queſtion of Adminiſtring the Sacrament, *&c. On the Lords day*, becauſe kneeling was forbidden to the Primitive Chriſtians, by a temporary injunction on ſuch days in honour of our Saviours Reſurrection, but was not intended as a ſtanding Rule, nor practiſed in after Ages in any Church: The Caſe of Kneeling, *&c.* by the *London* Divines, Anſwers Mr. *Baxter's*, and all other Objections againſt it. It can't be expected that I ſhould ingage to Anſwer all the Cavils which Mr. *Baxter* hath raiſed againſt Epiſcopacy and Liturgy, which makes up well nigh one half of his Life, and indeed of his Converſation; yet I have ſeen a little Poſthumous Book, called *Mr.* Richard Baxter's *laſt Legacy*, *&c.* out of which ſufficient Arguments may be urged, to confute all the Objections which he hath made in this, or any other of his Books, againſt our Epiſcopacy, Liturgy, or Conformity. So unformable was Mr. *Baxter* to himſelf, as well as to our Church.

Yet I cannot paſs by thoſe Scandalous Reflections, with which he defames thoſe Learned Biſhops and other Divines, with whom he treated.

Biſhop *Morly*, ſays he, *Was often there, and with fluent words and much carneſtneſs, was the chief Speaker of all the Biſhops, and the greateſt Interrupter of us.* [This Biſhop was a Perſon well known beyond the Seas, by his Diſ-

courſe againſt *Militere* and other Papiſts in defence of our Religion. In his Exile, he beſt knew Mr. *Baxter*,, and affirms, as is noted, *p.* 13. of a Letter concerning him, *That his furious eagerneſs to engage in a Diſputation, to which his Brethren ſhewed themſelves unwilling, did wholy fruſtrate the way, that tended to an amicable and fair compliance*; and Mr. *Baxter* was ſenſible that he ſpake too much, and too boldly, and therefore might deſerve to be interrupted by his *Dioceſan.*

Biſhop Cofins *was there conſtantly, and had a great deal of talk with ſo little Logick, natural or artificial, that none was moved by any thing he ſaid, but two Virtues he ſhewed; one that he was excellently well verſed in Canons, Councils, and Fathers, which he remembred when we tryed him; the other was, that as he was of a ruſtick Wit and Carriage, ſo he would endure more freedom of our diſcourſe, and was more affable than the reſt, but we took him not for a Magician.* [It was no ſign of a Ruſtick wit and carriage, that he could endure freely the Language and Behaviour of Mr. *Baxter*, with which the reſt of the Commiſſioners were more offended. And his Two excellent Treatiſes of the Canon of the Sacred Scripture, and Tranſubſtantiation, which were Two ſuch Bones, as brake the Teeth of the Doctors of the *Sorbone*, and ſtick in their Throats to this day, nor will they ever be able to digeſt them, ſhew that he wanted neither Logick, nor any part

part of Learning becoming an excellent Divine, though he never pretended to be a Magician; or to work ſuch wonders as Mr. *Baxter* and his Diſciples at *Kidderminſter* are reported to have done, *p.* 80, 81, *&c. Of Mr.* Baxter's *Life.*

Biſhop Hichman *was of the moſt Grave, Comely, Reverend Aſpect of any of them, and of a good inſight in the Fathers and Councils; he ſpake calmly and ſlowly, but was as high in his Principles and Reſolutions as any.* He was a Perſon of a Sedate and Chriſtian Temper contrary to the paſſionate and furious tranſports of Mr. *Baxter*; a Perſon of ſerious deliberation, and conſtant reſolution, as fit for a Privy Councellor as any of his Order, and this which was his ſingular Vertue, Mr. *Baxter* repreſents as his Crime.

Biſhop Sanderſon *of* Lincoln *ſeldom ſpake, but his great Learning and Worth are known by his Labours, and his aged Peeviſhneſs not unknown.* Mr. *Baxter* more than once noted this Biſhop for a Partial and Peeviſh Old Man, but his profound Judgment and Mature Determination of ſuch Subjects as he conſidered, ſuch as his Tracts *De Juramento*, *De Conſcientia*, his Volume of Sermons, and his occaſional *Caſes of Conſcience*, are not to be paralel'd by any Ancient or Modern Writer. Nor was he miſtaken when he told the Biſhop of *Cheſter*, as Mr. *Iſaak Walton* affirms, that there was at the *Savoy* Meeting, one that appeared

ſo

ſo bold, troubleſome and illogical, as forced this meek Biſhop to ſay with unuſual earneſtneſs, That he never met a Man of more confidence and leſs abilities in all his Converſation.

Dr. Sterne *lookt ſo honeſtly, and gravely, and ſoberly, that I ſcarce thought ſuch a face could deceive me; but when I talkt of many Diſſenters in the Nation, he turn'd to the other Biſhops, and ſaid, He will not ſay in the Kingdom, leaſt he own a King.* [This is that Perſon that is ſuppoſed to be the Authour of that excellent Book, *The whole Duty of Man*, and ſome other Works collected into a Volume in Folio; nor did he fail in his Conjecture, that Mr. *Baxter* was unwilling to own a King.

Mr. Thorndike *ſpake a few impertinent paſſionate words.* [Such as galled Mr. *Baxter*; but whatever his Preſence ſeemed to Mr. *Baxter*, his Words and Writings are weighty and full of uſeful Knowledge and Learning.]

Dr. Sparrow *ſpake but a little; yet with a Spirit enough for the impoſing dividing Cauſe.* [That is, he was conſtant to his Principles; a Vertue wanting in Mr. *Baxter.*]

Dr. Walton, *Bp. of* Cheſter, *askt me, Whether I did not ſay that if our Churches had no more than bare Liberty, as others had, without the compulſion of the Sword, that none but Drunkards would joyn in them. I anſwered, I only ſaid that as they had been ordered, if they had but equal liberty for Volunteers, they would*

be

be like Ale-houſes, where many honeſt men may come, but the number of worſe comers is ſo great, as maketh it diſhonourable. [This Man ſet forth the Polyglot Bible, which for its worth, exceeded the Bibles ſet forth by the Kings of *Spain* or *France*. And what he charged on Mr. *Baxter* he himſelf proves to be true, in declaring the Conformiſts to be guilty of Schiſm and Perjury, which he ſays are worſe than Drunkards.]

Dr. Pierſon *and Dr.* Gunning *did all their work. Dr.* Pierſon *was their true Logician and Diſputant, without whom, as far as I could diſcern, we ſhould have had nothing from them. He diſputed accurately, ſoberly, and calmly, being but once in a paſſion. He was the ſtrength and honour of that Cauſe, which we doubted whether he heartily maintained.* [i.e.] They thought him to be an Hypocrite or Presbyterian, but his Vindication of *Ignatius* hath ſtruck Mr. *Baxter*'s, and others Diſcourſes againſt Epiſcopacy, to the very heart, ſo as noon need to ſtrike again. And his Treatiſe on the Creed hath done the like to the Cauſe of the Atheiſts and Socinians. But the reaſon why he ſpeaks ſo well of this Doctor, was to raiſe his own Trophies in his conceited Victory over him.]

Dr. Gunning *was the forwardeſt and greateſt Speaker, underſtanding well what belonged to a Diſputant; a Man of greater ſtudy and induſtry than any of them; well read in Fathers and Councils, and of a ready Tongue, and I hear*

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and believe of a very temperate Life, as to all Carnal Exceſſes; but ſo vehement for his high impoſing Principles, and ſo over-zealous for Arminianiſm and Formality and Church Pomp, and ſo very eager in his Diſcourſe, that I conceived his Prejudice and Paſſion much perverted his Judgment; and I am ſure they made him lamentably over-run himſelf in his Diſcourſes. [The Univerſity of *Cambridge* where he long and deſervingly poſſeſſed and adorned the Chair, give him a better Character, *viz.* for an accurate Diſputant and excellent Divine, as well as for a Perſon who had a great power over his Paſſions and Appetite; but all theſe things made againſt him; for when ſome Perſons of note interceded for him with the Committee that caſt him out of his Chair, their Plea of his Learning and Holy Living was ſilenced by one of the Committee, who ſaid, He was the more like to do hurt.]

On our part, ſaith Mr. *Baxter*, *Dr.* Bates *ſpake very ſolidly, judiciouſly and pertinently when he ſpake. And for my ſelf, I thought the day and Cauſe commanded me theſe two things, which were objected as my Crimes*, viz. *ſpeaking too boldly and too long.* [I ſhall only refer the Reader to *p.*90. of the third part of his Life, where to *p.* 98. he gives tranſcendent Encomiums to his Non-conformiſt Brethren, every one almoſt hath ſome extraordinary Praiſes for Learning and Godlineſs.]

But, wherever he ſpeaks of the Conforming Clergy,

Clergy, he beſtows ſome of theſe black Characters on them, That they are proud, worldly, covetous, domineering, malignant, lazy, the Plague of the World, Troublers of Princes, Dividers of Churches, that will (being Hypocrites as to Chriſtianity and Godlineſs) like *Judas*, that loved the Bag better than Chriſt, make themſelves a Religion conſiſting of meer Corps and the dead Image of true Religion. See his *Prognoſtication* dated (he ſays) when by the King's Commiſſion we in vain treated for Concord 1661. *p.* 12, 13. of his *Prognoſtication*, with ſuch Prejudice, it ſeems, he came to that Conference, which waxed ſo groſs, that he quite loſt his Faculty of diſcerning Light from Darkneſs, or good from Evil. So that though he was conſtrained to acknowledge the great Learning of the Biſhops with whom he contended, yet he thought it ſufficient to blacken them all, to ſay that they were for Conformity, (*i. e.*) in his ſenſe for Perſecution and Perjury. How unfit Mr. *Baxter* was to commit to Hiſtory, either the Relation of our late War againſt the King, or of this Debate, or of the Primitive or Modern Biſhops, appears by thoſe Qualifications which he himſelf requires to the credibility of an Hiſtorian, as in his Preface to his *Church Hiſtory of Biſhops*, &c. (*viz.*) *That he be impartial, a lover of peace, and not ingaged in a faction; a ſober, calm, conſiderate man, not one that is paſſionately raſh, that ſhews a malignant ſpirit;*

ſpirit; one that extenuates or denies all the good that was in his Adverſaries, and faſtneth on them all the Odium he can without proof; one that is not deeply ingaged in a party; one that is of manifeſt honeſty and conſcience, &c. For want of which qualifications, it is truly obſerved by Dr. *Maurice*, that as his Church Hiſtory was deſigned to diſgrace Dioceſan Biſhops, ſo the Preface looks as if it were intended to diſgrace his Hiſtory. Nor muſt we believe our Senſes, if we muſt believe that they were Epiſcopal men that begun the late War, when the contrary appears, by many other acknowledged Proofs and continued viſible Effects related by Mr. *Baxter* himſelf.

The Parliament having had long and late experience how troubleſome and implacable ſuch as Mr. *Baxter* were, proceeded to the eſtabliſhment of the *Church* and *publick Worſhip*, excluding none but ſuch as would exclude themſelves: And as a ſignal of his Majeſty's impartial favour, he offered *Biſhopricks* to three, *Deanries* to two or three; more and other Dignities were given to ſeveral ſober Perſons that had been of another Perſwaſion. One Biſhoprick was accepted; one (which I ſuppoſe was Mr. *Baxter*) refuſed it. See *p.* 134. of *First Plea.* His reaſon I ſuppoſe was the ſame that he gave for not reading Common Prayer, *p.* 105. of *Sacr. Deſert. Should the Miniſters that have ſuffered ſo long, but uſe any part of the Liturgy and Scripture Forms, though without*

any

any motive but the pleaſing of God, and the Churches good, (it ſeems theſe Motives would not prevail for this Reaſon) *what muttering and cenſuring would there be againſt them?* This bold Man was afraid of the People. And in truth he has made it morally impoſſible for him to accept a Biſhoprick, having often declared by word, and publiſhed it in print, That *the Office of a Biſhop, as exerciſed in the Church of* England, *was Antichriſtian.* And ſaith in his *Method for peace of Conſcience*, p. 389. *We had taken down the ſuperfluous honour of Biſhops as Antichriſtian; upon which* (N. B.) *the Devil ſet them to cry down alſo as Antichriſtian, Tythes, Maintenance, Prieſts, and Miniſters:* And moreover, that *the return of ſuch Men would be a great Plague to the Land*, in Poſtſcr. to *the True Catholick*, p. 335. And Mr. *Baxter* knows there is an ancient Canon, *That a man that had his hand in blood, might not be a Biſhop.* See *p.* 213. of his Hiſtory. And *p.* 36. *A Government which gratifieth the Devil and wicked Men.*

And now he begins to defame the Laws, as he had formerly done the *Liturgy:* and not having other means, he diſcovers his impotent malice in writing a Prognoſtication, *dated when by the King's Commiſſion we in vain treated for Concord*, 1661. He obſerved, *p.* 40. *That the Sectarian Spirit was like Gunpowder, ready to take fire on ſuch injuries:* And Mr. *Baxter* with his Prognoſtication, like *Guy Faux* with his Dark

Dark Lanthorn, is ready for the Exploit, and ſorry only that it is not done. He intimates the Clergy to be *proud, worldly, covetous, domineering, malignant, lazy, the plague of the world, troublers of Princes, dividers of Churches, that will (being Hypocrites as to Chriſtianity and Godlineſs) like* Judas, *that loved the Bag better than Chriſt, make themſelves a Religion conſiſting of meer Corps, and the dead Image of true Religion.* See *p.* 12, 13. He cries out of *New Impoſitions, Subſcriptions, and Oaths, words and Actions which they believe to be againſt God's Word.* Doth not this aim directly at the Laws? P. 14. he ſays, *Their Sufferings will make many otherwiſe ſober Miniſters too impatient, and to give their Tongues leave to take down the Honour of the Clergy: And this will ſtir up the People, and make them pray for the downfal of the Clergy, which they take to be Enemies of God and Godlineſs; and that to ſpeak eaſily or charitably of ſuch Men, is but to be lukewarm and indifferent between* GOD AND THE DEVIL, p. 20. *Some* (of the Non-conformiſt Miniſters) *will think theſe Paſſions of the People needful to check the fierceneſs of the Afflictors: Some of the more injudicious hot-brain'd ſort (who are the greateſt number) will put them on, and make them believe that all Communion with any Conforming Miniſters or Pariſh Churches is unlawful, and that they are all Temporizers, and Betrayers of Truth and Purity, that communicate with them: and carry about among themſelves falſe Reports*

and

and Slanders; becauſe they will think that the upholding of their Cauſe, which they think is God's, doth need the ſuppreſſion of theſe mens Credit and Reputations, p. 25, 26. *The godly and peaceable Conformiſts will get the love of the ſober, by their Doctrine and Lives; but will be deſpiſed by the Sectaries, becauſe they conform; and will be ſeparated by the proud and perſecuting Clergy, as leaning to the Diſſenters; and thereupon will be under continual Jealouſies and Rebukes: And perhaps new Points of Conformity ſhall be deviſed to be impoſed on them, which it is known their Conſciences are againſt, that ſo they alſo may be forced to be Non-conformiſts, becauſe ſecret Enemies are more dangerous than open Foes: and ſo part of them will turn downright Non-conformiſts, and the other part will live in diſpleaſure till they ſee an opportunity to ſhew it. And theſe are the likelieſt to croſs and weaken the worldly perſecuting Clergy.* This is ſuch a Prognoſtication, as that for which Mr. *Baxter* obſerves Mr. *Udal* was condemned in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, in an *Aſſize-Sermon* on *Pſal.* 2. And it is no otherwiſe a Prognoſtication than (*Aſtrologers* obſerve of *Blazing-ſtars*) they do irritate and diſpoſe the Humours and Spirits of Men to diſorderly Actions; to which the event ſhews that this Prognoſtication, and Mr. *Baxter*'s influence on the People, hath had a malign Aſpect, not unlike the Propheſie of *Noſtredamus*'s Son, That a certain great City ſhould be burnt; and

to fulfil his Propheſie, did procure it to be ſet on fire.

My next Remark is on Mr. *Baxter*'s behaviour at *Kedderminſter*, where the Biſhop of *Worceſter* publickly declared, That *he made the People believe that it was lawful for them to take up Arms againſt the King, and ſuffered or made them to ſcruple at thoſe things which were lawful, which he himſelf confeſſeth to be lawful*; and that *he himſelf heard him to maintain ſuch a Poſition as was deſtructive to the Legiſlative Power both of both of God and Man*; (viz.) *That the enjoyning of things lawful by lawful Authority, if they might by accident be the cauſe of ſin, was ſinful.* See the Biſhops Letter, *p.* 4. and 6. Now though the known integrity of the Biſhop is enough to make all good Men believe this Relation, yet the conſideration of the Premiſes puts the truth of it beyond all doubt or exception. Was this behaviour of Mr. *Baxter*'s a token of his Gratitude to thoſe Biſhops who gave him licenſe to preach in their Dioceſs; or to his Subſcription to the Biſhop of *London* (then *Shelden*) to thoſe terms of peaceableneſs which the Biſhop accepted, and Mr. *Baxter* voluntarily ſubſcribed? *p.* 12. of his late *Apology.* If ever he did any thing toward Publick Peace, he was drawn to it *in vitâ Minervâ*, and ſoon retracted it; but to promote Diviſions he laboured *manibus pedibuſque*, with all his ſtrength.

This was the chiefeſt Argument urged againſt Kneeling, &c. by Mr. *Baxter.*

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His Book called *The Cure of Church Diviſions* is the only Work of Mr. *Baxter* that hath any thing of Moderation; and yet as if he were ſorry for what he had done, at Mr. *Bagſhaw's* Exceptions againſt he, he ſays, *Doth it not ſpeak againſt Church Tyranny, unjuſt Impoſitions, Violence, and taking away Men's Liberties, and Rigour to Diſſenters, from end to end?* p. 7. of his Defence. It ſeems it was expected of Mr. *Baxter* that he ſhould have called the Biſhops *Sacrilegious Silencers of the faithful Miniſtry, Murderers of many hundred thouſand Souls, perjurious, proud, tyrannical, covetous, formal Hypocrites, malignant haters of good Men*, and then he had not incurred the blame of the People, *p.* 20. And to regain their good opinion of him, he hath ſince ſaid all this again and again. Another part of Mr. *Baxter's* Character appears in what was done about the Indulgence; which by a Book called *The peaceable Deſign*, agreeing well with Mr. *Baxter's Plea for Peace*, ſeems to have been procur'd by the joynt Endeavours of the Papiſts, and thoſe that call themſelves Proteſtant Diſſenters; in which Book, *p.* 71. is this Objection: *What ſhall we ſay then to the Papiſts?* Anſw. *The Papiſt in our account is but one ſort of Recuſants, and the conſcientious and peaceable among them, muſt be held in the ſame predicament with thoſe among our ſelves, that likewiſe refuſe to come to Common Prayer.* And *p.* 72. *As for the common Papiſt, who lives innocently in his way, he is to us*

as other Separatiſts, and ſo comes under the like toleration. So that *Herod* and *Pontius Pilate* are confederate againſt Chriſt. But Mr. *Baxter* muſt lead the Chorus here alſo; for he much exceeds the Author of that Treatiſe, in his good opinion of the Papiſts: yet he ſays, *Mr.* Humphry *is a man of latitude, and tyeth himſelf to no Party or Opinions of other men; And I* (ſaith Mr. *Baxter*) *ſo little fear the noiſe of the Cenſorious, that even now while the Plot doth render them moſt odious, ſay freely,* 1. *That I would have Papiſts uſed like men: And,* 2. *I would have no man put to death for being a Prieſt:* 3. *I would have no Writ* de Excommunicato capiendo, *or any Law compel them to our Communion and Sacraments.*

And is not this to open the door for Papiſts and Fanaticks to enter together? If the Laws, how ſevere ſoever, cannot keep them out, would not this Liberty bring them in? See *p.* 19. of *Second Defence.* If you will not bring the Papiſts in, he is reſolved, for ought I ſee, to go to them: for *p.* 235. of *Firſt Plea,* he ſays, *It is but reaſonable if on ſuch neceſſity* (*i. e.* the Penalties for Nonconformity) *they ſhould accept of favour from any Papiſt that ſhould ſave them,* &c. By which the Reader may judge, who is a greater Friend to Popery, the *old Proteſtants,* who have made Laws to keep it out; or the *Diſſenters,* who would deſtroy thoſe Laws to let it in.

To

To put life into the languiſhing Cauſe, he inſpires it with a Doſe called *Sacrilegious Deſertion of the Miniſtry rebuked*; and declares, That *as they had preached formerly without leave, ſo they would do it much more now*; and ſays, *That though it had coſt ſome excellent men their lives, yet nothing but death, or utter diſablement, ſhould make them deſiſt.* So that his *Pleas* and his *Practice* before and ſince the Indulgence, ſhew that he owed the King no great thanks for it: Yet being adviſed by a moderate hand not to abuſe that Indulgence, he rails at him moſt intolerably; (you ſhall hear it by and by:) I will only ask Mr. *Baxter*, why the neglect to adminiſter the Holy Sacraments was not as much *Sacrilegious Deſertion of the Miniſtry* (whereof it is a chief Work) as the omiſſion of preaching? For Mr. *Baxter* confeſſeth, *That he had not baptized any, nor adminiſtred the Lord's Supper, for eighteen or nineteen years together; nor adhered to any Sect* (no not the *Sect* of Dioceſan Biſhops) *for twenty five years.* See *p.* 119. of Anſw. to Dr. *Hinkley:* Which to me ſeems to be not only a *Deſertion* of the *Miniſtry*, but of *Chriſtianity* it ſelf. Certainly if he ought to do the one, he ought not to leave the other undone. *That he and others are Paſtors to no Church, that he never gathered a Church, nor hath he conſtantly joyned in Communion with any Church*, Anſw. to the Bp. of *Worceſter*'s Serm. *p.* 64.24.62.86. Yet *p.* 76. of his Book of *Concord*, he ſays, *I con-*

ſtantly joyn with my Pariſh Church in Liturgy and Sacraments, and hope ſo to do while I live. But if he thought it his duty to *preach*, it was his duty to *adminiſter the Sacraments* alſo; for preaching was never eſteemed the ſole Work of the Miniſters: And they that omit this Duty, to refuſe to hear the *Univerſal Church of Chriſt*, as well as the *Church of* England: For by Canon. Apoſt. the 9th, *Whoever of the Faithful enter and hear the Sacred Scriptures, but ſtay not at Prayers and Communion, ought to be excommunicated as Diſturbers of the Church.* All Churches in the Primitive times did on *every Sunday* celebrate this Holy Sacrament; and all the faithful were wont to receive it. It is alſo very obſervable, that when our Church was to be ſetled, that ſome of the Presbyterians moved to have the Rubrick ſtruck out which obligeth the People to Communicate three times yearly; whereas ſome modern Churches have found it neceſſary to declare as the Council of *Agatho* did, (which Mr. *Baxter* accounts one of the beſt Councils) *That thoſe who receive not the Sacrament, ought not to be reputed as Chriſtians.* And St. *Cyprian* ſaith, *This bread we crave every day, leſt we who are in Chriſt, by the interpoſing of any grievous Crime while reſtrained, and not communicating, ſhould be ſeparate from the Body of Chriſt.*

And now prepare your ears againſt that nauſeous *Billinſgate Language* and *barbarous Cenſures*, wherewith Mr. *B.* anſwers his learn-

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ed Adverſary * in his *Sacrilegious Deſertion*, for want of Arguments, *p.6. Railing Ruffian*, p. 13. *Selfiſh envious Conformiſts; the doleful pride and ſelfiſhneſs of the carnal part of the Clergy; a Silencing Dioceſan*, p.25. *Church-tearers*, p. 105. *Such Toys*, p.31. *A few confident and ſilly Reaſonings of Dr.* Fulwood *and other Pampleteers; Uſurpers*, p. 39. *Hear it now, for you ſhall ſhortly hear it from God*, p. 8. *I would give all the Money in my Purſe to make me underſtand what the Church of* England *is*, p. 35. *Fooliſh ſuperſtitious Prieſts*, p. 44. *He talks of* Per *and* Pers, p. 49. but lays his Scene in *Utopia*, and ſays, *I know this is not our caſe in* England, *but if we muſt follow you into* Utopia. Leſt the Reader ſhould not underſtand this, he ſpeaks plainer, *p.* 74. *I have been long of the opinion which you (viz.* that are of a contrary opinion) *will one day pardon, that perjury, perfidiouſneſs, and perſecution, proud contending who ſhall be greateſt, and covenanting never in certain points to obey Chriſt againſt the world and the fleſh, is not the way of God*, p. 56, 57. *Such confidence upon ſuch inſignificant reaſons, is a great diſhonour to the wit and humility of the Authour*, p.59. *Our excellent Succeſſours, that do nothing but ſee the Peoples faces in the Church: You forbid Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper to all that have not as large a Swallow as your ſelves*, p.60. *His want of common ſenſe and modeſty*, p.65. *O with what face*, p.66. He tells

* Dr. Fulwood.

us, *p.* 96. of ſome of the *Nonconformiſts* Principles and Purpoſes: *They ſuppoſe that the Miniſtry doth not ſave Men, as Wizards think that Charms do heal Men by their preſence, titles, names, or habits, by ſtanding in the Reading-place or Pulpit, or being called the Parſon of the Pariſh, or ſaying his ſet words over them when dead.* (As if the Conformiſts did believe all this.) P. 10. *They ſuppoſe that a greater number of the conformable Prieſts than they are willing to mention, do preach ſo ignorantly and dully in the Pulpits, and do ſo little of their private work beſides, that there is great need of a far greater number of Aſſiſtants than all the preſent Non-conformiſts be. They are not able to confute the People, who tell them that their publick Prieſts are ſo defective in their neceſſary qualifications for their Office, as that they hold it unlawful to own ſuch for true Miniſters, and encourage them by their preſence, or commit the care of their Souls to ſuch.* P. 11. *They think that the ejecting* (the Non-conformiſts) *from the Temples and Tythes did not degrade nor make them no true Paſtors to their Flocks; and that the Magiſtrates putting another Pariſh Miniſter in poſſeſſion of the Temple and Tythes, did not diſſolve the foreſaid relation. They think that the ejected Miniſter,* foro Conſcientiæ & Eccleſiæ vere ſic dictæ, *retaineth ſtill his ancient relation to his Flock, and part of them ſchiſmatically ſeparate from him, and joyn with another Intruder that never had a lawful Call.* P. 14. *They think that*

Conformity

Conformity would be in them ſuch a compoſition of heinous crimes, as they forbear to name, for fear of ſeeming Accuſers of others, and unpeaceable. P. 31. *Look up man, without bluſhing; alas for theſe poor People that cannot try Sence from Nonſence.* P. 61. *His next hath no bounds, it grieveth me to read it. O Poſterity, how will you know what to believe!* P. 62. *Here is much that would as handſomely ſerve* Celſus, Julian, Porphyry, *or* Eunapius, *p.* 72. P. 25. *I will not offend the Readers ears by giving them the names I think they deſerve, but wiſh them to read* 1 Theſſ. 2.15. which in words at length he puts in his Title page, *They both killed the Lord Jeſus, and their own Prophets, and perſecuted us. And tell them, by what Names or Titles ſoever they be diſtinguiſhed, that I, that am a dying man, would be loth to ſtand in their caſe before God: And if we were well agreed that there is indeed a God and a Chriſt, a Heaven and a Hell, we ſhould eaſily be agreed in all the reſt*; (*i. e.*) Seeing you are not of Mr. *Baxter's* mind, you are very Atheiſts, and in a ſtate of Damnation.) P. 132. *I muſt tell you, that we cannot but think that you need Repentance, great Repentance,* (*that your Souls yet, if poſſible, may be ſaved,* p. 74.) *for ſinning more, and that by publick, deliberate, choſen covenanted, miniſterial ſin, proteſting againſt Repentance.* I conclude this Collection of many ſuch great Calumnies which that little Book doth abound with, with his impudent

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Challenge; *Come, and impartially debate the Caſe with us, who have been the greateſt Cauſes of Proteſtant Diviſions, Conformiſts or Non-conformiſts.* Theſe putrid, Peſtilential Stinks and Corruptions are ſo unlike the Breathings of a mortified Chriſtian, that the like never proceeded from any dying Man, except ſuch a one as hath been dying Twenty years together, of which this is a ſhrewd Symptome; and another is as bad, that (as they ſay of dying Beaſts) he bites deadly, *Animamq; in vulnere ponit.* I challenge any Man to ſhew in ſo little a Book, ſo great Pride, Malice, and Obloquy, on ſo ſlender occaſion as the Indulgence, prepared by the means, and in favour of the Papiſts as well as the Presbyter. Mr. *Baxter* knew the Perſon againſt whom he wrote to be a Perſon of *Great Learning and Moderation*, as he had acknowledged under his own hand in his Book of *Conformation*, where he often quotes him; he calls him *The Learned Mr.* Fulwood in the Poſtſcript, but now he is a *meer trifler.*

But there is yet *ultimus conatus naturæ.* And his reſtleſs Spirit grows more brisk and ſparkling, as it is pouring forth from the crazy Veſſel. By the great mercy of God, that moſt execrable Plot of the Papiſts to Aſſaſſinate the King (whom God hath hitherto by a ſeries of Miracles preſerved) and the Church of *England*, againſt which the Gates of Hell have not, and we hope never ſhall prevail,

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was diſcovered, to the great joy of all true Proteſtants. And now while they are undermining the Foundations, Mr. *Baxter* (though a dying Man) lifts up himſelf, and gets on the top of the Fabrick, to throw it down with all his might. This Polity he learnt of his Predeceſſors, who on the intended *Invaſion* 88. and the *Gunpowder-Treaſon*, when the Papiſts thought to have *ſwallowed us up quick*, took their advantage to thruſt us into their Jaws, or at leaſt to devour us themſelves, if we ſhould eſcape our other Adverſaries. That he might act with leſs ſuſpition, and more ſucceſs, he calls his Engines *A Plea for Peace*, which, as Biſhop *Stillingfleet* obſerves, might be better called, *A Plea for Diſcord and Diviſion*; And another called, *The true and only way of Concord; ſo full fraught with impracticable Notions, and dividing Principles, as if his whole deſign had been to prove, that there is no true way of Concord among the Churches*, *Biſhop* Stillingfleet. But of this Book hereafter: Another Book claims precedency, whereof after great labour Mr. *Baxter* is delivered; but it proved a Monſter full of Teeth and Claws, which he calls *Church-Hiſtory of the Government of Biſhops*; but is indeed (though very partial) a Hiſtory of thoſe Confuſions which were raiſed in the Church by ſuch as oppoſed the Orthodox Biſhops. That the ſight of this Monſtrous Birth may not offend, let the Reader fortifie his Eye-ſight with

with what Mr. *Baxter* himſelf hath prepared: For, telling us *what Hiſtory is credible*, p. 2. n. 4. of that Tract, *It ought to be*, ſaith he, *of One that is impartial, a lover of Peace and not ingaged by Faction or Intereſt to one ſide againſt the other; a calm and conſiderate Man, not a paſſionate haſty Judge; a Man of manifeſt Honeſty, Conſcience, and Fear of God; not a Worldly, Wicked, Bloody, Unconſcionable Man.* Now let the Reader conſider whether this Character agree with our Author: And then let the Reader take that other Antidote in the Preface—*The Sectaries*, ſaith Mr. *Baxter*, *who raſhly ſeparate from ſome Churches, becauſe of ſome Forms, Opinions, or Ceremonies, which almoſt all Chriſtians on Earth have uſed in the former purer Ages, and ſtill uſe, ſhould be more cautelous in examining their grounds, and ſhould hardly venture to ſeparate from any Church, for that which for the ſame reaſon would move them to ſeparate from almoſt all Chriſtians in the whole World, if not unchurch the Church of Chriſt.* And let the Reader ſatisfie himſelf, whether Mr. *Baxter's Model* be not ſuch a Form. And may it not be ſaid of Mr. *Baxter*, as he ſays of Dr. *Heylin? He is ſo palpably partial, and of ſo malicious and bloody a ſtrain, repreſenting excellent perſons as odious intolerable Rogues, that he is not to be believed?* Judge by this one paſſage, *p.* 120. *If our Neighbours, that commonly theſe Thirty Years laſt uſe the word* God dam me, *had put but* thee *inſtead of* me, *I ſhould have*

ſuſpected

ſuſpected that the Councils and Biſhops had made their Religion. To which add, *p.* 464. *Have not the Miniſters themſelves been the principal inſtruments of taking down the Biſhops*, &c? *And what have they got by it?* I doubt not but the Reader will find the whole Collection to be a Hiſtory of the Confuſion and Bloodſhed occaſioned by diſcontented and ambitious Presbyters and their party, againſt the Orthodox, who ſuffered under Heathen *Arian*, and other heretical Emperours, by Popes, Hereticks, and Schiſmaticks, miſapplied all to the Biſhops and Councils; and often ſpeaks more favourably of Hereticks, *viz.* of *Arius*, the *Novatians*, and *Donatiſts*, who though they were uſurping Presbyters, he calls them Biſhops; and through their ſides ſtrikes at the Sacred Office, *p.* 276. of his *Plea for Peace*; *It was by Biſhops ſtriving who ſhould be Chief, that the* Donatiſts *ſet up:* Whereas the *Donatiſts* were diſcontented Presbyters. *And in the Schiſms of thoſe times, the Biſhops were* almoſt *ever the chief Cauſe.* The *Almoſt* will not ſave it from a Lye. But evident it is, whatever quarrel there was in all Church-Hiſtory, wherein a Biſhop was concerned, how Innocent, how Orthodox ſoever, Mr. *Baxter* makes him the cauſe of the Quarrel, and is his Adverſary. Hereof I could give many inſtances, had not Mr. *Baxter* prevented me, having ſaid and done enough to overthrow the credit of his Hiſtory. However, I will ſhew the Reader

Reader a *Specimen* of Mr. *Baxter*'s Candour and Truth in relating Church-History. Doth not Mr. *Baxter* know (however he diſſembles it) that *Arius* and *Aërius*, *Novatus* and *Novatian*, *Majorinus* Chaplain to *Lucilla* a Noble Woman, with *Botruus*, and *Sileſius*, who firſt oppoſed *Cecilian* Biſhop of *Carthage*, and ſet up for Biſhops by the help of *Donatus*, who ſucceeded them, and gave name to the Schiſm, were all Presbyters? Till they dub'd one another Biſhops, and then with whole Armies oppoſed their lawful Biſhops, who with great patience and conſtancy withſtood their malice. Read the Hiſtory of the *Donatiſts* lately ſet forth, and ſee how they uſed St. *Auguſtin* himſelf. Mr. *Baxter* may as well aſcribe all the Rebellion and Outrages, all the Blaſphemies and Faction that have been made within Forty Years paſt, to the Biſhops of this Land, whereto (it's well known) the *Presbyterians* opened the way, and led the dance, as to impute what he doth to the ancient Biſhops; and indeed he is not aſhamed to aſſert both theſe notorious falſhoods. Mr. *Baxter* asks the Queſtion, *p.* 429. of his *Cure of Diviſions*; *Who brought in the errours of the* Arians, Eunomians, *&c.* And he Anſwers, *They were Biſhops or Presbyters:* He would be ſure to ſpeak one true word. I ſhall not trouble the Reader with all that Mr. *Baxter* writes of the *Arians*, *Neſtorians*, &c. in that voluminous Book, but refer him to what he ſays

ſays more briefly in his other late Works; for he repeats it in many of them. P. 27. of his *Plea*, He *would not have the* Arian *Emperours made worſe than they were, becauſe they were for Toleration of both Parties; nor were the* Arians *themſelves like the* Socinians (ſaith he) *becauſe they acknowledged all ſave the* Ὁμοούσιον (*i. e.*) ſave the Divinity of Chriſt, which was all then in Controverſie. *How dangerouſly* (ſaith he, as if he were pleading for the *Arians*) *did* Juſtine *and moſt of the Ancient Doctors, before the* Nicene *Council, ſpeak hereabout; and how certainly* Euſebius *and other great Biſhops were* Arians; *and how the Council at* Ariminum *laid by the Word* Ὁμοούσιον *endeavouring reconcilation, I need not ſend you to* Philoſtorgus *or* Sondeus (*Arian* Authors) *for proof.* If the *Conformiſt* ſhould have ſaid half ſo much, he and the whole Church ſhould have ſmarted for it.

In the Diſpute between St. *Cyril* and *Neſtorius*, whether the Virgin *Mary* might be called the *Mother of God*, you may ſee how partially he deſcribes both the Perſons and Opinions, *p.* 271. of his *Plea: Neſtorius* (ſaith he) *was a Man of Study and Retirement, a poor garb, and a ſtrict life*, (i. e. a *Presbyterian*) *abhorring publick Contentions, and loving Quietneſs, till he got to be uppermoſt; and then he ſhewed a peeviſh Zeal againſt Diſſenters, called Hereticks.* Then for St. *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, whoſe Works praiſe him in all the Churches,

Mr.

Mr. *Baxter* hath ſcarce a good word for him, becauſe he was the firſt Biſhop that uſed the Sword, and perſecuted the Diſſenters: *He was a Man* (ſaith he) *of great Parts, Spirit, and Power; but the Head of a Turbulent People. As to their Opinions, the Errour of the* Neſtorians *lay in his want of skill in ſpeaking*, ſaith Mr. *Baxter, and the Controverſie was about words rather than matter. Moſt of the People were for* Neſtorius, *and moſt of the Courtiers and Clergy againſt him; and ſo was the Emperour, who depoſed* Neſtorius, *and reſtored* Cyril: *but* Neſtorius *returned to his Monaſtery, and there lived four Years in Peace and great Reputation; but afterwards was Baniſhed into Foreign Countries, and died.* I wonder why after Four Years he ſhould be Baniſhed, if he had lived peaceably and quietly. Did not Mr. *Baxter* ever read how the Emperour *Theodotius* confirming the Decrees of the Third General Council at *Epheſus*, commanding, *That none ſhould dare to keep, read, or tranſcribe the wicked Books of the profane and ſacrilegious* Neſtorius, *but ſearch them out, cauſe them to be burnt publickly; and that none permit them to have any Houſe or Field to hold private or publick Aſſemblies; and whoever adhered to* Neſtorius, *ſhould ſuffer the loſs of his Goods? By which Edict* (ſaith the Perfect) *our pious Emperour knowing the Orthodox Religion to be the ſtrength of the Empire, hath taken away all the ſeeds of Impiety.* Edictum Theodoſii in fine Con-

Concilii. I ſee no reaſon why Mr. *Baxter* ſhould ſpeak ſo favourably of *Neſtorius*, though I have conſidered all that he writes, but that he might make his Readers think more contemptible of *Cyril*, who was ſo great, learned, and good a Biſhop. *Vincentius Lyrinenſis*, an approved Author, who lived near that time, writes thus: *Infelix ille* Neſtorius *ſubito ex Ove converſus in Lupum gregem Chriſti lacerare cepit; Cum enim hi ipſi qui rodebantur, ex magna adhuc parte Ovem crederent, morſibus ejus magis patebant. Nam quis eum facile errare arbitraretur, quem tanto Imperii Judicio electum, tanto Sacerdotum ſtudio proſecutum videret, Qui cum magno Sanctorum amore, Summo populi favore celebraretur, quotidie palam divina tractabat eloquia, & noxios quoq; Judæorum & Gentilem confutabat errores.* This is as much as Mr. *Baxter* could ſay for him: But what follows? *Qui ut uni hæreſi ſuæ aditum patefaceret, cunctarum Hæreſeωn blaſphemias inſectabatur*, cap. 16. and cap. 17. *In audito ſcelere duos vult eſſe filios Dei; unum Deum, alterum hominem; unum qui ex patre, alterum qui ſit generatus ex matre: atq; ideo aſſerit Sanctam Mariam non* Θεοτόκον, *ſed* χριστοτόκον *dicendam, quia ſcilicet ex eâ non ille Chriſtus qui Deus, ſed qui homo, erat natus. Quod ſi quis eum putat in literis unum Chriſtum dicere, & unam Chriſti perſonam, non temere credat, hoc enim fraudulentiæ cauſâ, & conceptus ſeu partus virginei tempore duos Chriſtos fuiſſe contendit.* Who will not believe this Father,

that lived in those days, a Man of great Learning and Integrity, before a late prejudiced Person that serves a Party? Another instance of Mr. *Baxter*'s racking Ecclesiastical History, to make it speak his sence against Bishops, is his account of *Novatus* and *Novatian*, one of which he calls *an ill chosen Bishop of* Rome, *i. e. Novatian*; though indeed they were both ambitious *Presbyters:* and *Novatus* an *African* Priest (saith Mr. *Baxter*) *went to* Rome *to make* Novatian *a Bishop*, p. 36. *when* Cornelius *was duly elected before:* Of which St. *Cyprian* saith, *Agnoscant atque intelligant Episcopo semel facto, & collegarum ac plebis testimonio & judicio comprobato, alium constitui nullo modo posse*, Epist. 4. ad Cornel. For indeed *Novatian* was an ambitious *Presbyter* that contended against *Cornelius* to thrust him out of his Chair, for admitting those to his Communion who in the time of Persecution under *Decius* had denied the Faith, supposing that they could not repent after such a fall. In opposition to such, he calls his Faction the *Cathari* (which Mr. *Baxter* knows how to English.) This pure *Presbyter* sent for three *Rustick Bishops*, as my Author calls them, from *Italy*, to come to him at *Rome*, under pretence of mediating for him with *Cornelius* and the other Bishops. Being come he entertains them with plenty of good Chear and Wine (which is still in fashion with that sort of People;) and when they had well drank, some of his Party force the Bishops'

ſhops to lay their hands on *Novatian*, and make him an *Utopian* Biſhop: for it will puzzle Mr. *Baxter* to name his Title, though he call him *an ill choſen Biſhop of* Rome; which Title he gives him, only to draw an Odium on the Biſhops, though the great troubles brought upon the Church by their Errours and Schiſms, were wholly the fruit of their Envy againſt *Cornelius* the lawful Biſhop of *Rome*. Of which St. *Cyprian* alſo gives a full account, who cauſed the meeting of ſome Councils to ſuppreſs them. Yet Mr. *Baxter* (ſuch is his Zeal for Anti-Prelatical Men) thus excuſeth the matter: *It was Zeal againſt Errour, which made both the* Novatians *and the* Donatiſts *run into Errour*, p. 32. And though that long and ſad Schiſms did enſue, yet he thus excuſeth it: *The Rigour of the* Novatians *was increaſed by their offence at other mens ſinful latitude and tepidity*, p. 35.

Chap. 3. Mr. *Baxter* treats of the Council of *Nice*, and the Hereſie of *Arius*.

P. 45. Mr. *Baxter* ſays, *That* Athanaſius *refuſing to admit* Arius *to his Communion, cauſed much Calamities:* And *p.* 46. *They that had gathered Separate Churches, did communicate with* Arius *that they might be delivered from the Perſecution of a godly Biſhop, (i. e.)* from *Athanaſius*, whom Mr. *Baxter* confeſſeth to be *a godly Biſhop:* but being *Biſhop*, and oppoſing the *Arian Conventicles*, he is a Perſecutor. That you may ſee the Partiality of this Hiſtorian,

I shall give you a brief History of the growth of *Arianism*. *Arius* a Presbyter, was condemned in the first General Council at *Nice*, for denying the Deity of Christ, making him a Creature; for which he was banished by *Constantine*, as the cause of great Division and Corruption in the Church. But there was a certain Presbyter who grew into so great familiarity with *Constantia* the Emperours Sister, as to perswade her that *Arius* had been abused by the Council, and did not hold the Opinions for which he was condemned: Whereupon *Constantine* recals *Arius*, and enquires into the truth of that report; and *Constantia* dying, recommends this Presbyter to the Emperour her Brother, as worthy of his favour; and when *Constantine* died, this Presbyter carrieth the News to *Constantius*, that his Father had bequeathed the Eastern Empire to him: Which being what he hoped for, he received the Presbyter into his Favour, and kept him in his Court; where first he infected some of the Eunuchs with that Errour, and by their means the Empress also, and so the Emperour himself. *Socrates* l. 1. 19. and l. 2. 2. This revived the *Arian* Faction: *Arius* is restored to *Alexandria*, from whence the multitude of his Followers having conspired the death of *Athanasius*, *Constantine* had removed *Athanasius* into *Gallia*, where *Constans* his Son then lived, who entertained him with some respect; and writes to his Brother *Constantius* to admit him

him again to *Alexandria*, or threatneth him with War, *lib.* 2. *cap.* 18. Whereupon *Athanasius* is restored, but his life is in perpetual danger, the *Arians* being more in number than the Orthodox. *Hosius* Bishop of *Corduba*, a Man of great Age and Learning, and a constant Assertor of the Truth, was shamefully whipped and tortured by them, *lib.* 2. *cap.* 26. And though they were condemned by the Councils of *Milain* and *Ariminum*, *Constantius* favours them, and threatneth the Councils. To him succeeded *Julian* the Apostate, then *Jovianus*, who reigned but Seven Months; then *Valentian*, who admitted *Valens* an *Arian* to partake of the Empire: All which time the *Arians* exercised great cruelty not only on the Orthodox Bishops, but against each other; for under them sprang up the *Novatians* and *Eunomians*, lib. 4. cap. 23. and *lib.* 5. *cap.* 20. who all agreed in the *Arian* Heresie, but persecuted one another: So did the *Macedonians*, lib. 2. cap. 13. and 35. and the *Nestorians*, who burnt the *Arian* Church at *Constantinople*, lib. 7. cap. 20. vexed the *Novatians* and *Macedonians*, lib. 7. cap. 31. And all this by the instigation of *Anastatius* a Presbyter, *lib.* 7. *cap.* 32. Yet all these Tumults are imputed to the Bishops, who all the while suffered from the heretical Presbyters, the true Ancestors of Mr. *Baxter*.

Majorum quiſquis fuit ille tuorum,
Aut Paſtor fuit, aut illud quod dicere nolo.

Chap. 7. Mr. *Baxter* treats of the *Tria Capitula.*

The *Tria Capitula* were three Chapters mentioned in the Council of *Chalcedon*, in which the *Neſtorians*, who could not longer defend their Hereſie under the Name of its Author, ſought to cloke it under the Name and Writings of *Theodorus* Biſhop of *Mopſueſtia*; of *Theodoret*'s Writings againſt St. *Cyril*; and an Epiſtle of *Ibas* unto *Maris*. Theſe made the *Tria Capitula*, for which Pope *Vigilius* and ſome of his Party appeared: But the Emperour *Juſtinian* and the Catholick Biſhops appeared againſt them. Many Sectaries who were condemned under the name of the *Acephali*, diſclaimed this Council; others pretended it had approved of the *Tria Capitula.* Great Diviſions enſued hereupon. *Juſtinian* knowing that the Council of *Chalcedon* had exploded that Hereſie, ſends forth his Imperial Edict, wherein accurſing the Authors and Abettors of thoſe *Tria Capitula*, he ſummons the Fifth General Council of *Conſtantinople*; at which the Pope refuſed to be preſent; *noluit intereſſe*, ſaith *Bellarmine*; and the true reaſon was, becauſe he favoured that Hereſie, and approved not of the Council of *Chalcedon*, which was held without him, and did determine for the Prerogative of *Conſtantinople* againſt

gainſt him. *Vigilius*, though he came not himſelf, ſent his Decree which maintained that Hereſie, and was confuted in the Sixth Collation of the Council of *Conſtans*. And they ſet forth a moſt holy Confeſſion of their Faith, conſonant in all points to that which the Holy Apoſtles preached; which the four former Councils explained, and the holy Fathers with uniform conſent maintained.

Now I would deſire Mr. *Baxter* to reſolve me, whether the blame of thoſe Commotions which followed on this Diſſention, is to be laid on the Emperour and the Catholick Biſhops who ſided with him in defence of the true Faith, againſt Neſtorianiſm, as *Binius* and *Baronius* would have it; or on the Pope and his *Italians*, who pleaded for that Hereſie; and together with the *Agnoites*, *Gainaites*, *Theodoſians*, *Themiſtians*, and the reſt of the *Acephali*, promoted and continued thoſe Broils.

Chap. 9. Conſiſting of about Sixty Pages, is ſpent about the Worſhipping of Images, whereof he makes the Biſhops Patrons: Whereas many, both Emperours and Biſhops, ſuffered very much as *Iconoclaſtes*. (*i. e.*) the deſtroyers of Images. Biſhop *Jewel* challengeth the Church of *Rome* to ſhew but one Authority, during Six hundred Years of the Church, for worſhipping Images, and is not yet anſwered. The riſe of which in brief, was this: The *Arcans* and *Donatiſts* having waſted the Church, made way for vaſt numbers

of Infidels to enter in, who brought with them, and ſuperſtitiouſly honoured the Images of their Benefactors; and many ignorant Chriſtians learned their cuſtoms: The Pictures of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* we read of in Ancient Hiſtory; but withal we read they were not permitted to be brought into the Churches. The oppoſition made againſt them, may be ſeen in the *Magdeburg.* In the year 754 the Biſhops diſputed againſt them, and in a Council at *Conſtantinople*, conſiſting of 338 Biſhops. How *Leo Iſauricus* and *Gregary* Biſhop of *Neocæſaria* oppoſed them, is too large to repeat. It was about the year 787, that *Irene*, who was Daughter to a Pagan King of *Tartaria*, gave publick countenance to Image-worſhip. She ruling as Empreſs in the minority of *Conſtantine* her Son, promoted this Pagan cuſtom: for, as Mr. *Hales* obſerves, *Dux femina facti*, ſhe was a Woman of ſo Tyrannous a Spirit, that ſhe cauſed the eyes of her Son *Conſtantine* to be put out; which ſtruck a great awe into the Chriſtians under her. One cauſe of her Cruelty to her Son, being his oppoſing this Image-worſhip. But finding one *Taraſius* to be of her mind, ſhe makes him Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, and calls a Council at *Nice* conſiſting of 350 Biſhops, moſt of them *Arians*; and ſo about the year 787, they Decreed for Image-worſhip. But in the year 792, all was reverſed by *Charles the Great* in a Council at *Frankfort.* One Decree menti-

mentioned by Mr. *Baxter* I ſhall remind him of; it is *p.* 213. *A man that had his hands in blood, muſt not be a Biſhop.*

Another Hereſie which makes the Church Hiſtory to ſwell, is that of the *Monothelites*, of which Mr. *Baxter* ſpeaks, *ch.* 8. And becauſe he ſaith nothing of the riſe of it, I ſhall. It was occaſioned by one *John Philoponus* a Preſbyter, who wrote ſubtilly concerning it, and drew many to his Opinion, *Anno* 517. but all the time that *Juſtinian* was Emperour, they hid themſelves, and propagated their Hereſie in Conventicles; for it was condemned by 175 Biſhops, in the fifth Synod of *Conſtantinople*, and confuted by the Learned Biſhop *Gregory Nazianzene*, and by 603 Biſhops in the fourth General Council at *Chalcedon*, and in the ſixth Synod of *Conſtantinople* by 170 Biſhops. But after the death of *Theodoſius*, *Philippicus* ſucceeded, of whoſe Succeſſion a *Monotholite* Monk had foretold him; and that if he would reſcind the Decrees of the ſixth Synod, and favour the *Monothelites*, he ſhould raign long and happily. This made *Philippicus* to eſpouſe that Cauſe; and preſently he baniſheth *Cyrus* Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, and many Orthodox Biſhops: He maketh one *John* a Presbyter Patriarch, and filleth up the vacant Biſhopricks with Presbyters of that Faction; and then aſſembles them, and confirms that Hereſie. But the Biſhops of the Weſtern Churches reſiſted it,

it, and ſent thundering Letters againſt it. And it is no wonder that the Orthodox Biſhops did hide themſelves under this Tyranny, or that *Philippicus* found Presbyters to make Biſhops in their room, who defended him and the Faction: For it is well known how many ſuch in our Age adhered to uſurping Powers, and defended as great both State and Eccleſiaſtical Hereſies, as this of the *Monothelites*, and would not permit the Biſhops to appear. But if theſe Presbyters had taken the name of Biſhops under *Cromwel*, as the *Monothelites* did under *Philippicus*, you might with as much truth have affirmed, that innumerable Biſhops did in the times of our Confuſions defend Rebellion and Hereſie, as, that the Biſhops who ſuffered all manner of indignities from the *Monothelites*, did defend that Errour, or raiſe thoſe Tumults. This *Philippicus* within a year and half was deprived of the Empire by the ſame Souldiers that ſet him up; who put out his Eyes, and left him to die in Priſon as a Tyrant. Theſe inſtances (for I remember that I am writing a Character of Mr. *Baxter*, and not of the ancient Hereticks) may ſuffice to acquaint the Reader of the ingenuity of this Man, who rails intolerably againſt others as corrupters of Hiſtory, when it appears he had no other deſign in this Collection, but to ſerve his Hypotheſis, and implacable malice againſt the Biſhops, and inrage the Peo-

ple

ple to ſet the Nation in a Flame. It is but a ſmall matter for Mr. *Baxter* to ſupport himſelf in Church Hiſtory: He can bid open defiance to the Laws of the Land, which he calls *tearing Engines, and Enemies to God's publick Worſhip, and ought to be diſobeyed, becauſe it is written*, Whether it be better to obey God or Man, judge ye.

He begins with a modeſt complaint, *p.* 101. of *firſt Plea*; *It is not the ſence of the Liturgy* (in that they ſeem ſatisfied) *but a Statute of Parliament which we doubt of: it ſeems inſufficient, if not impertinent, to tell us what is taken for the ſence of the Church; for the doubt is, what is the ſence of the Parliament, which we cannot otherwiſe know, but by their plain words, till they will otherwiſe declare their meaning:* (i. e.) They muſt declare a meaning contrary to their plain words. But Mr. *Baxter* ſpeaks plain enough, *Plea the firſt*, That *the Laws required of them ſuch Subſcriptions, Covenants, Declarations and Practices, as they durſt not do, becauſe they feared God.* A ſtrange Parliament, to make ſo many Laws as a Man that feareth God cannot obey! If Mr. *Baxter* had any Fear or Reverence of Men, he would not thus Reproach the Governours, and Defame their Laws, and all the while cry out of Perſecution. But what are thoſe impious Laws? This you find in another Book called, *A ſearch for the Engliſh Schiſmatick*; where he ſtates the Caſe between the

Dioceſan

Dioceſan Canoneers, and the preſent *meer Nonconformiſts*; and *though he determine not* (as he ſays) *which of them is the Schiſmatick, yet he makes the Book to be a pair of Spectacles for the Purblind to diſcern it*, p. 43. This is juſt as he dealt by his *firſt Plea*, where he tells us he will not urge the Caſe, but mention Matters of Fact only: Yet in his Book *of Concord*, he ſays, *To anſwer the earneſt demand of our Reaſons* (againſt Conformity) *by yon the Lord Biſhop of* Ely, *I have publiſhed an Hiſtorical Narration*, &c. How did this anſwer the Biſhop's earneſt demand of Reaſons, if it did not contain them, when Mr. *Baxter* ſays that was the end of publiſhing that Book? Any one that uſeth Mr. *Baxter's Spectacles* may ſee they were his Reaſons, though he might well be aſhamed to call them ſo. But as for thoſe *Spectacles* that will ſo plainly diſcover the *Engliſh Schiſmaticks*, a very skilful Artiſt hath turned into a *Looking-glaſs*, which if Mr. *Baxter* be not afraid to make uſe of, he may thereby ſee him whom he pretends to ſearch for: it is called, *A Diſcourſe about Church Unity, in defence of the Biſhop of* Worceſter. The Laws oppoſed, are ſuch as were made on mature deliberation, to ſecure our Peace: The Act for Uniformity and Renouncing the Covenant: The Declaration, that it is not lawful on any pretence whatſoever, *&c.* The Book laſt mentioned, ſhews his Malice to the Parliament, in making falſe

and

and odious Repreſentations of them to the People, *p.* 457. It is ſcarce worth the notice, that he ſays *the Parliament was drawn in by the Convocation to make thoſe Acts:* this is but *Scandalum Magnatum.* He comes near to Blaſphemy, *p.* 107. of his *third Defence*, where he pleads for excuſing the ignorant People, who, when Diviſions fall out between King and Parliament, do doubt which it is that ſhould be obeyed: (He adds) *Chriſt was drawn by Hypocrites to pay Tribute to* Cæſar, *rather than offend*; as if our Saviour did what he never intended, or really approved, to comply with Hypocrites. And who can wonder if he that ſpeaks thus of the Maſter, ſhould not ſtick to revile his Diſciples, making the Conformiſts ſo many deliberately perjured Perſons; and, which is in his own Language *Mendacium magnum*, *That about Six thouſand Perſons that had gone the other way, did declare their aſſent and conſent to a Book which they never ſaw*, p. 69. of his *ſecond Defence*, Mr. *Baxter* complains, *That at ſuch time as he was turned out of all, he was never in ſo good a condition as to keep a Man-ſervant (except when he travelled) nor a Maid-ſervant, except an old Woman to provide him Neceſſaries; and lived in ſome upper Rooms of another Man's Houſe:* and yet (he ſays) *he built a Tabernacle in St.* Martins *to preach in himſelf*, p. 55. of his *ſecond Defence*,

P. 13. of his *Search.*

Preface to Dioceſan Biſhops.

and loſt One thouſand pounds in the Exchequer He hoped, it ſeems to gain a reputation among the Factious, of being their great *Centurion*, who *loved their Nation, and built them a Synagogue.* But it is very obſervable, that if at ſuch time as Mr. *Baxter* was turned out of all, he was in ſo low a Condition, that he got well by his Non-conformity, being able to part with a conſiderable Sum to build Tabernacles. One Intreague I find darkly delivered, *p.* 250. of his *firſt Plea: Even Biſhops* (ſaith Mr. *Baxter*) *need to be remembred, that while the Wheel is turning, the upper ſide ſhould not tempt Men to forget what ſide will be uppermoſt ſhortly and for ever.* The words are ambiguous, like the old Oracles, and may be interpreted *pro captu Lectoris*; but whether he means the Revolutions of Providence, as by the turning of the Wheel ſeems moſt proper, or the Divine Judgment at laſt, it ſavours of equal Pride, Malice, and Uncharitableneſs. In Mr. *Corbet*'s Funeral Sermon, *p.* 33. preacht by Mr. *Baxter*, he ſpeaks more plain: *It ſeems* (ſaith he) *there is ſome great evil to come, when God takes away the beſt:* yea, *if it ſhould be a fore-runner of a better ſtate, yet all ſave two of the old ſtock that diſhonoured God periſhed: And it was by bloody Wars that* Joſhua *and the new GENERATION were to poſſeſs the Land of Promiſe.* But the Oracle is expounded by other Cabaliſtical Rabbies, who tell us boldly, *the time of the Epiſcopal Perſecution is but ſhort:*

And

And on that confidence invite thoſe whom Mr. *Baxter* calls the *paſſive Conformiſts*, to come over to them, promiſing them a kinder entertainment than they have had from their Brethren of the Conformity: *Spes eſt fore ut Fanatici quos vocant, utamur illis æquioribus*, ſaith the *Celeuſma*, p. 34. *There is now good hope that we whom they call* Fanaticks, *may ſhew them more favour.* Now whether theſe Men be not engaged in ſome Plot for the extirpation of the Eccleſiaſtical Government by Law eſtabliſhed, to which end they ſo importunately plead for the Obligation of the Covenant, let the Reader judge. Time may diſcover what an ingenious Man hints in his *Defence of the Biſhop of* Worceſter, p. 68. *I will tell Mr.* Baxter *a Secret which I have heard, but hope he will not put me to prove it, That the Parliament made good Laws, the Papiſts out of a pretended reverence to tender Conſciences, hindred the Execution of them, and ſome leading Fanaticks had private Encouragement (to ſay no more) to ſet up a mighty cry of Perſecution, to caſt all the odium on a perſecuting Church and Dioceſan Canoneers.* Dr. *Owen* noſes this hint: *Some have reported* (ſays he) *that ſome of the Non-conformiſts at leaſt do receive, or have received Money from the Papiſts to act their Affairs, and promote their intereſt; which he* (very angrily) *calls, a putrid Calumny, a malicious Falſhood, a frontleſs Lye:* and for himſelf, *he avows, that never any Perſon in Autho-*

rity,

rity, Dignity, or Power in the Nation, or any that had any relation to Publick Affairs, nor from them, Papiſt or Proteſtant, did once ſpeak one word to him, or adviſe with him about any Indulgence or Toleration to be granted to the Papiſts. He ſays not that he never received any Money to promote a general Toleration, which he (thinking himſelf particularly reflected on) might have done in few words. And my Author deſires Dr. *O.* to reſolve him, *Why a Faſt was appointed by a certain Independent Paſtor at that time on the fifth of* November, *which* (as he notes) *is no Popiſh Feſtival.* 'Tis a miſerable ſhift which the Doctor uſeth, ſpeaking at large of the *plain, open, uncontroulable Evidence which the Non-conformiſts always gave, and continue to give, of their faithful cordial adherence to the Proteſtant Religion and Intereſt in the Nation*; whereas ever ſince Forty one, they have notoriouſly ſcandalized, and as much as in them lay, ruined the Proteſtant Religion and National Intereſt.

His dealing with Mr. *Cheney* is moſt unchriſtian; for in the Preface of his *third Defence*, he *judgeth him a godly ſerious Man*; *yet*, ſaith he, *his Book is ſo diſmal a piece in its extraordinary privation of common Reaſon, Truth, Charity, Tenderneſs, and Modeſty, that I am conſtrained to think that honeſt Man is diſeaſedly Melancholy*: and reports, *that his Book is* [illegible] *away as a fardle of dotage and ſhameleſs*

ſhameleſs lyes, p. 2. of Second Part. Yet if a ſober Reader be admitted to judge, this melancholy Man hath ſo provoked Mr. *Baxter*'s choler, that he ſeems quite to have loſt his Reaſon, and betakes himſelf to Railing. One Argument Mr. *Cheney* may well boaſt of, which Mr. *Baxter* calls his *Catholicon*, concerning a confident Tenet of Mr. *Baxter*, *That the Acts for Uniformity and Prefaces are parts of the Book of Common Prayer, to which we are to declare our Aſſent*, &c. Now it is ſaid in a Preface concerning the Service of the Church, *That foraſmuch as nothing can be ſo plainly ſet forth, but doubts may ariſe in the uſe and practice of the ſame; to appeaſe all ſuch diverſity, if any ariſe, and for the reſolution of all doubts concerning the manner how to underſtand, do, and execute the things contained in this Book, the parties that ſo doubt, or diverſly take any thing*, (as do now the Conformiſts and Non-conformiſts; for Mr. *Baxter* ſays, *they could do and declare as the Conformiſts do, if they could get the ſence of the Acts*, &c. *to be expounded ſo as the Conformiſts underſtand them*) (N. B.) *ſhall always reſort to the Biſhop of the Dioceſs, who by his diſcretion ſhall take order for the quieting and appeaſing of the ſame; ſo that the ſame Order be not contrary to any thing contained in this Book: And if the Biſhop of the Dioceſs be in doubt, then he may ſend for the Reſolution of the Archbiſhop.* Mr. *Baxter* anſwers, *That the words make not the Biſhops Expoſitors of the Law or Book, as*

Judge, but as a Teacher only. Mr. *Cheney* replies, *Any intelligent Man may help the ignorant to underſtand the things in the Book; but the Biſhops are made deciſive Judges, to order in what manner to underſtand, do, and execute all (doubtful) things in the Book*, p. 212. And *p.* 213. he tells Mr. *Baxter*, *The late Covenanters had not ſuch Security for their Conſciences, in taking that Oath in a ſenſe varying from the preciſe Letter, as the Conformiſts have for their Subſcriptions*, &c. And thus the melancholy Man beat the Conjurer out of his Circle, and in his *third Defence* he takes no notice of it.

As for Mr. *Hooker*, how contemptibly doth he ſpeak of him, *p.* 74. ſaying, That *a long tedious Diſcourſe in him hath as much ſubſtance as one might put into a Syllogiſm of ſix Lines.* And in his Preface to the Anſwer of the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, *I am*, ſays Mr. *Baxter*, *paſt doubt, that* Richard Hooker, *Bp.* Hall, *Bp.* Uſher, *were they now alive, would be Non-conformiſts.*

In the year 1681. comes forth Mr. *Baxter's Apology for the Non-conformiſt Miniſters*, in juſtification of their preaching againſt Law. This he directs to the Right Reverend Biſhops of *London, Lincoln, Hereford, Carliſle*, St. *Davids*, and *Peterborough, and others of their moderation, in ſome hope, though evil Men and Deceivers wax worſe and worſe.* What his hope is, he tells them, *If the ancient Chriſtians might preſent their Apology in hope to Heathen Emperours, may I not ſo much more to Chriſtian Biſhops?*

You

You are more ſenſible than we, with what deep ſenſe Men will ſhortly hear, Inaſmuch as you did it to one of the leaſt of theſe my Brethren, you did it unto me. See his Charity to thoſe whom he calls *our beſt Biſhops!* But in *p.* 233. he thus concludes: *And now we humbly lay theſe Petitions at your feet, and beſeech you for the ſouls of many hundred thouſands, that you who call your ſelves their Paſtors, and the Fathers of the Church, will not deny them the bread of Life. We beſeech you to come out of your Palaces a while, and be familiar with the People, and confer with all the Poor of the Pariſh, and dwell in ſome Country Village as we have done,* (who chooſe the greateſt Cities and Towns) *that you may not ſee many hundred thouſands damned by your means, and you have nothing to ſay when it is to late, but a* non putaram: *That the Inſtances of the Obduration of* Pharaoh *and the* Phariſees, *make you not afraid, leſt wrath come upon you to the utmoſt, while* you pleaſe not God, and are contrary to all Men, *forbidding Chriſt's Labourers to preach to the Ignorant and Impenitent*, that they may be ſaved, 1 *Theſſ.* 2.15. *And O that God would make them ſenſible how many thouſand Perſons damnation is like to be charged upon them for what they have already done, for ſeventeen years hindring ſo many faithful Miniſters! I muſt profeſs, if it were the laſt word that I ſhould ſpeak in the world, that I had rather be the baſeſt Scavenger, yea, and ſuffer many deaths, than*

be found at the Judgment Seat of Chriſt in the place and guilt of thoſe of you who have done what is done againſt the Goſpel and Church of Chriſt in this Land. Doth not the Reader bluſh for Mr. *Baxter*, to read ſuch arrogant Cenſures from a dying Man concerning his betters? and all this too cauſeleſly, as I ſhall prove out of his own words. He asks the Queſtion, *p.* 236. *Why I write all this to you, and not to his Majeſty and the Parliament?* I anſwer, *It is not them, nor any of their Laws or Actions, which in all this Book I intend to ſpeak againſt.* (Mend. Mag.) For though he had indeed done it ſufficiently in other, yet this Book was penned on purpoſe to juſtifie the preaching of Nonconformiſts, though forbidden by Law. P. 102. He raiſeth the Objection of *preaching in Cities*, &c. *againſt Laws.* And Anſw. *Did not the ancient Chriſtians alſo diſobey a lawful Power when forbidden?* &c. As if Chriſtian Magiſtrates were to be reputed as the Heathen Perſecutors. But to omit this, *p.* 104. he ſays (N. B.) *No Biſhops have ſilenced us by Spiritual Government that we know of, but only as Barons by the Secular Laws, to which they gave their Votes*, (and he acknowledgeth) *all did not.* And if any ſhall read the Preambles to thoſe Acts, he may plainly ſee, the cauſe of making them was not only the late dreadful Experience which the Nation had of the Confuſions cauſed by the preaching of ſuch Men, but their preſent endeavours to reduce

duce us to the like again; which (all thoſe Acts notwithſtanding) they are ſtill labouring for. This is evident, that Mr. *Baxter*, though he were Ordained by a Biſhop, and ſubſcribed, (though as he confeſſeth, *he had not read the Book of Ordination, nor exactly weighed what he ſubſcribed to*, p. 59. for it ſeems, he was *a paſſive Conformiſt*, and one that came into the Church to find a better opportunity to pull it down;) he did partake with Mr. *Pryn* in an Antipathy againſt *Lordly Prelacy*, and glorieth in being ſtiled the *Antiſignanus Presbyterorum*, p. 11. And *p.* 6. he tells us of one *Fenne*, a famous Country Non-conformiſt, *who with a loud voice would ſay Amen to all the Prayers in the Liturgy, except that for Biſhops; to which his ſilence was accounted a diſſent.* Doubtleſs Mr. *Baxter* is of the ſame mind; he cannot pray for them, leſt it ſhould ſeem *a compliance with Church Tyranny*, and *a frame of Government deſtructive of the Churches Miniſtry*, p. 241. *and with ſuch Perſons as profeſſing themſelves Fathers of the Church, are grand Enemies of Chriſt and Souls, and the Captains in the Army of the Devil*, p. 243. I have heard a late Report of a Rebel in *Scotland*, who being under Condemnation, was put in mind of begging Pardon, and to ſay, *God bleſs the King:* but his Anſwer was, *He would not purchaſe his life at ſo dear a rate.* Let the Reader judge how near Mr. *Baxter* approacheth that temper, *who will not, and cannot indeed pray for the Biſhops as ſuch, but*

rather ſuffer many deaths, than be in their caſe, &c. How amazing a paſſage is that, p. 135. *When you are in the duſt, the world will not be afraid of you, but freely tread upon you*, Hic Jacet, (Mr. *Love* did as bad by Archbiſhop *Laud* while he was alive) *and caſt up your bones to make room for others, and talk of you and your acts as freely as of King* Henry *the Eighth, Queen* Mary, *Biſhop* Bonner *and* Gardner, *are now talked of.* As if our Biſhops were the Succeſſours of thoſe, and not of *Cranmer, Latimer, Ridly, Hooper*, and other Martyrs of that Age, who died for the Defence of that Reformation, which our Biſhops ſtill defend againſt both Papiſts and Fanaticks. But *Etiam poſt mortem invidia:* How ſollicitous is dying Mr. *Baxter* to bequeath a double portion of his Anti-Prelatical Spirit to the People; who by propheſying what they will be, tells them what he would have them to be; (i. e.) *Perpetual and implacable Enemies to the Biſhops*, p. 187. And in his Prognoſtick, to which he refers, how often doth he croak over his Cant of *Perjury, a ſin meet for none but utterly debauched Conſciences, and ſuch as threatneth dreadful ruine. Such principles and practices would make us guilty of the perjury and impenitence of many hundred thouſand perſons*, p. 154. And *p.* 219. *Aggravated perjury, deliberate lying, rebellious profeſſion of diſobedience to God, owning great and publick ſins, corrupting holy Worſhip*, &c. P. 221. *The ſins which we fear*

(*viz.*

(*viz.* in Conformity) *be of the greatest sort that Hell suggesteth, perjury, and owning the perjury of thousands, and doing that which is equivalent to the preaching of impenitency, and saying, Repent not, for I declare it is no sin, and lying deliberately, and making a publick Ministerial profession of Usurpation and Church Corruptions, and of our resolution never to obey God in doing any duty of ours in order to a Reformation*, &c. Will any Man believe that Mr. *Baxter* is so grievously persecuted, who hears him thus affronting the Laws, and reviling and provoking Authority? P. 200. *It may be your great Patrons may die, or fall, or forsake you; and then your hearts are broken. It may be death* (he seemeth to speak of a violent death, as *p.*204. *One* Felton *may end the great Duke of* Buckingham, *p.*205. *Or they may meet with such Executioners as Cardinal* Beton) *may enter into your Families, and make you think what blood-thirstiness doth tend to. And you must consider also, that if blood or destruction be the means you trust to, you must set up a Shambles or Trade of Butchery, and make it the profession of all your lives*, &c. which I abhor to relate what he there talks at large. And *p.* 226, 227. *The world already thinks that the Clergy are so covetous, proud, and envious, that like the great Dog that hath got the Carrion, snarls at every little Dog that looketh at them, suspecting they come to take some from him: it is the common opinion, that the Clergy are the Incendiaries and*

Troublers of the World; *and that the worſt Princes left to themſelves*, *are not half ſo cruel againſt the faithful preachers and practiſers of Chriſtianity*, *as if they perſecuted it* (eo nomine) *as the proud and covetous Clergy are.* Now that it hath been Mr. *Baxter*'s work to effect this temper in the People, he gives us this inſtance, beſides what I might mention in *London* and *Kedderminſter*, p. 90. *I love to inſtance where I dwell, and ſee becauſe of certainty. This Market Town of* Barnet *ten miles from* London, *was ſo extreamly addicted to your way, ſo impatient of the Directory and Miniſtry now caſt out, that one who was their Miniſter in times of Uſurpation told me, he was fain to leave them, and profeſſed he was really afraid leſt they would have put him into the Grave, and buried him alive, for burying a Corps* (without Common Prayer) *according to the Directory: And now the Caſe is ſo much altered, that though the Town conſiſts ſo much of Inns and Ale-houſes, a private meeting near the Church is ſo much crowded as the Churches were, and the Church is almoſt empty.* Egregias vero laudes, & ſpolia ampla! the Inns and Ale-houſes are become Conventicles, by Mr. *Baxter*'s Reformation, and the Church forſaken.

From *p.* 197, to 210. you have a continued cry of the bloodineſs of Biſhops, comparing them to *Foxes*, *Wolves*, *and Kites*, *that live on fleſh, and devour thoſe that are better than themſelves*, p. 201. Yet, contrary to all this

this clamour, he ſays, *p.* 104. *No Biſhops have ſilenced as by ſpiritual Government*, (i. e. as Biſhops) *but only as Barons by the Secular Laws to which they gave their Votes, which yet all did not.* Yea Mr. *Baxter* acknowledgeth their favour to himſelf in particular: *For my part*, (ſaith he, *ibidem*) *I have one or two of their Licenſes never recalled nor nulled.* Are theſe Men ſuch horrible Perſecutors, who did no more than the whole Nation in Parliament have done for Peace ſake? yet all their Silencing and Sufferings are charged moſt invidiouſly on the Biſhops, as if it were done by their ſole Authority: for one reaſon why they cannot give over Preaching is, *p.* 241. *n.* 11. *It will be an encouraging compliance with Church-tyranny, to give over preaching as oft as Biſhops forbid us, becauſe we will not take their Oaths, and be ſtigmatiz'd with their PER.* The Biſhops as Biſhops require no more now, than what was required when Mr. *Baxter* and others ſubſcribed at their Ordination; and they are moſt likely to bear the PER, who act contrary, not they who act conformably to their Subſcription. The great cry of Perjury is raiſed in favour of the *Covenant:* Yet Mr. *Baxter*, p. 112. of his *Apology*, ſays, *I never heard abjuring* (the Covenant) *was required of the Miniſters: they are only to ſubſcribe, That there is no obligation on them or any other Perſon to endeavour any change or alteration of Government in the Church.*

Church. And can this be thought a ſufficient reaſon for Mr. *Baxter* a Man of 74 years old to cry out as a Child that hath fancied a Bugbear, till he puts himſelf into dangerous fits, and affrights all the Neighbourhood?

So bold and bloody are his accuſations againſt the Biſhops and Clergy eſpecially, for Perſecution and Perjury, that if a Stranger ſhould read them, he might think them meer *Cannibals* that lived on Humane fleſh, or incarnate fiends that delighted in Sacrifices of Blood; though Mr. *Baxter* all the while knows them to be very innocent and tame perſons. For though he repreſent them as *Lions greedy of prey*, yet dares he pluck them by the Beards, and diſgorge his filth in their mouths; and after all imaginable provocations, *truſts himſelf between their Teeth and Claws*, as he is pleaſed to phraſe it. So great a Maſter of Diſcipline is Mr. *Baxter*. But though he deal thus with the Biſhops, yet he ſhould not make ſo bold with the King and Parliament, and their *Tearing Engines of the Laws*, as to write whole Volumes in defiance of them.

When the two *Cromwels* were on the Throne, he taught a Doctrine quite contrary to his *Apology for their practice* then under King *Charles*. Then he taught us, *That God never inſtituted Churches to be kept up in diſobedience to thoſe Chriſtian Magiſtrates which he commands us to obey upon pain of Damnation.* p. 352.

p. 352. of his H. Commonwealth. And *Theſis* 319. That *Diſobedience to our Rulers, is in Miniſters double treaſon and wickedneſs.* And 240 *Theſis*, That *it is neceſſary to the Churches peace, that no private Congregations may be gathered, or Antichurches erected, without approbation or toleration from the Magiſtrates:* And *that if private Aſſemblies be permitted unlimitedly, then,* 1. *It will be impoſſible to reſtrain Hereſie, Infidelity, or Impiety: Yea,* 2. *They may meet to plot againſt the Magiſtrate. And no Aſſemblies whatſoever* (he means beſides thoſe of the Pariſh-Church) *are to be allowed by the Magiſtrate.* And *Theſ.* 263. *If Magiſtrates forbid Miniſters to preach or exerciſe the reſt of their Office in their Dominions, they are to be obeyed*; as he inſtances in *David* and *Solomon* taking down and ſetting up Prieſts, and ordering Officers in the Houſe of God. Were the two *Cromwels* ſuch as *David* and *Solomon*, to be intruſted with the Houſe of God? and is King *Charles* like *Jeroboam*, whoſe intereſt it was to ſuppreſs the true Worſhip of God, and permit Calves to be ſet up at *Dan* and *Bethel*? I would fain ſee Mr. *Baxter*'s Reaſons for the *Uniformity of the Churches* then, more than now; and wherein *Oliver* and *Richard* did more Piouſly, Faithfully, and Prudently exerciſe the Government, than King *Charles*. I know it will grate on Mr. *Baxter*'s ſpirit to have his *Theſes* ſo often urged, ſeeing he hath deſired the whole Book might be taken as *non Scriptus*;

Scriptus; and that he retracts *ſome things* (though he adds) *not all*, nor tells us any particulars. But, *Quid verba audiam, quum facta videam?* To what purpoſe ſerves a *Proteſtation* againſt *plain matter of Fact*, and daily practice whereby Mr. *Baxter* ſtill vindicates many ill things delivered in that Book? which he doth expreſly alſo in the cloſe of his Preface to the *Second Plea*, where he affirms, *That in all the times of Uſurpation he ſaid and wrote, that the Kings Perſon is inviolable, and to be judged by none, either Peer or Parliament; and that neither the King may deſtroy nor hurt the Kingdom, nor the Kingdom the King.* And then adds, *That the very Book accuſed* (*viz.* The H. Commonwealth) *goeth on ſuch principles, and hath not a word meet to tempt a man in his wits to this accuſation.* The contrary to which hath been often rehearſed, to Mr. *Baxter*'s great regret. And his Brother Dr. *Owen* rightly tells him, That *they who will take liberty to ſpeak what they pleaſe, muſt be content to hear ſometime what will diſpleaſe.* And I would deſire him to reconcile the former *Theſes* of the Obedience of Miniſters under *Cromwel*, to his late Doctrine of reſolved Diſobedience to our preſent Governours. For *p.* 226. of his *Firſt Plea*, he teacheth, *That Paſtors preached againſt the will of Princes for Three hundred years.* And *p.* 26. *That God wrought Miracles to juſtifie ſuch Preachers when forbidden by Chriſtian Princes, who ſpake freely after their Tongues were cut out*; *That*

That there is a wo unto them if they preach not, and many woes to them that ſhall forbid them; which is the ſubject of his *Apology*.

Can Mr. *Baxter* wonder that no Man Anſwers theſe Books of his, when the ſmoak, and flame, and ſtink of them is ſo horribly miſchievous and inacceſſible, as if it came forth from the Bottomleſs-pit? And this is the work of his Fellow-labourers, of whom he ſays, *p.* 163. *There is not this day on Earth a more conſcionable, godly, faithful Party of the Miniſters of the Goſpel, than thoſe that are now ejected, ſilenced, Nonconformiſts in* England: *And his Teſtimony* (he ſpeaks it of himſelf) *ſhall be believed when the Defamers and Calumniators ſhall not.*

Theſe Books and ſome other, (of which hereafter) he covers over with much combuſtible matter, prepared many years paſt, *againſt ſuch falſe and bloody Plotters* (*i. e.* the Biſhops) *as would perſwade the King and People that the Nonconformiſts are Presbyterians and Fanaticks: That it was ſuch Presbyterians that killed his Father*; *and that their principles are rebellious, and that they are plotting a Rebellion and his death*; *and laſtly, that this is the Genius of the Parliament.* I hope whatever Mr. *Baxter* may do, no other Mans Conſcience doth accuſe him of ſuch horrid crimes. All this we have in the Title-page of his *Second Plea for Peace:* But as the Learned Doctor obſerved of the *Firſt Plea*, *it looks*

as

as if he had deſigned theſe Books on purpoſe to repreſent the Clergy of our Church as a company of notorious lying and perjured Villains. Theſe and divers other Fire-brands he fixeth in the top of the Fabrick, as if that could not be purged but with Fire, pretending it was guilty of many heinous Sins in the Conſtitution of it: And when that Reverend Doctor endeavored to quench thoſe Juniper-coals which had well-nigh ſet all in a flame, he flies in his face, charging him with *pleading for Preſumption, Profanation, Uſurpation, Uncharitableneſs, and Schiſm, p.* 73. of his *Anſwer* to the Dr's *Sermon.* Again, when the Dr. ſaid, *that preaching in oppoſition to the Laws eſtabliſhed, is contrary to the Doctrine of all the Nonconformiſts of former times*; Mr. *Baxter* replies, *p.* 21. *This Aſſertion is ſo raſh and falſe in matters of notorious fact, that it weakeneth his reverence of the Doctors judgment in matters of Right*, p. 8. So that the Doctor might well ſay, that *he wrote that Book in a continued fit of Anger.* And how could it be otherwiſe, ſeeing that, as Biſhop *Burnet* relates of the Earl of *Rocheſter, when God gave him a ſight of his ſins, that he confeſſed he had been drunk five years together:* So Mr. *Baxter* had been diſtempered with an habit of wrath and rage againſt the Government of the Church ever ſince he was Nineteen years old; how could he chuſe but write with the ſpirit of Gall and bitterneſt againſt ſuch an Adverſary as would diſſect him

him alive, and diſcover all the Diſtempers of that dying Man? And what could Mr. *Baxter* do leſs than call the Doctor's Sermon *a Schiſmatical Sermon*, that would ſo divide Mr. *Baxter* that makes Union impoſſible in any Church but what he himſelf ſhall give being and union to? And yet this Man of Wrath is angry with himſelf, that he was not more angry with the Doctor: For *p.* 12. of *Second Defence*, *I profeſs* (ſays he) *I felt ſo little paſſion in writing that Book, that I think verily I ſinned all the while for want of a livelier ſenſe of the ſin and hurt which I was detecting by my Confutation.* And in his Title-page, dividing the Doctor's Book into *Accuſations*, *Reaſonings*, and *Hiſtory*, he pronounceth them all *untrue*; *i. e.* (in plain Engliſh) *You lie, Sir, in all that you have written.* Perhaps Mr. *Baxter* may not account this *Paſſion*, but *Zeal*; And his admirers ſay, he is *a Stranger to Spite and Anger*; but he hath *a very quick and earneſt temper of mind, and his ſtile is very keen and pungent.* Yea, and they think it lawful for him too, to make the Scripture ſerve his paſſion, and rail in holy Language; for doubtleſs his Diſciples think that in the Title-page, 1 *Tim.* 6. 5, 6. well applied to the Doctor, *Perverſe diſputings of men of corrupt minds, and deſtitute of the truth, ſuppoſing that gain is godlineſs*; *from ſuch withdraw thy ſelf*; which in plain Engliſh is, that the Doctor is one of thoſe Men, and you are bound to have no communion

nion with him: For Mr. *Baxter* (though under another name) repreſents the Doctor to be *a moſt unskilful, proud, partial, obſtinate, cruel impertinent Adverſary.* Yet Mr. *Silveſter* in his Preface, ſpeaking of the Author (*i. e.*) Mr. *Baxter* ſays, *I have heard him great and copious in commendation of ſeveral Prelates and Conformiſts*, and that he particularly mentioned the Reverend Biſhops of *Worceſter* and *Eli*, (*i. e.*) Biſhop *Stillingfleet*, and Biſhop *Patrick*, as Perſons greatly admired, and highly valued by him, and of their readineſs to ſerve the Publick intereſt both Civil and Religious, he doubted not, it was therefore his bitter Zeal that tranſported him to write ſuch ſcandalous invectives contrary to his Knowledge and Conſcience. But as Mr. *H.* ſays, in defence of Mr. *Baxter*, *Some Men have humours and ways of their own.* And this, it ſeems, is the proper humour of that Party; They think with *Jonah*, they *do well to be angry*, that God hath ſpared us ſo long; and becauſe he ſuffered their *Gourd* to *ſpring up and cover their heads* for a time, *whereof they were exceeding glad*, now that he hath ſuffered a *Worm to ſtrike it, and make it wither, and the Wind and the Sun beats on their heads*, they are deſperately angry for their Gourd, and juſtifie their anger even againſt God; they *do well to be angry even unto death*, Jonah 4. 9.

His Treatiſe of *Epiſcopacy*, he ſays in the Title-page, *was meditated* 1640. *when the* &c. *Oath*

Oath was impoſed; *written* 1671. *and publiſhed* 1680. *by the call of Mr.* H. D. *and the importunity of our Superiours, who demanded the reaſon of our Nonconformity: The deſign was, the concord of all the Proteſtants who can never unite in the preſent impoſitions, and for neceſſary reformation of Pariſh-Churches, and thoſe abuſes which elſe will keep up in all Ages a ſucceſſion of Nonconformiſts*; *and to give an account why we dare not covenant by Oath or Subſcription to endeavour the* (amending) *alteration of the Church-government*, &c. (*i. e.* in plain Engliſh) againſt an Act of Parliament. P. 140. of his *Second Part*, we have this pathetical Exclamation: *Alas Lord, How long ſhall Chriſts enemies* (the Biſhops) *be Paſtors of his Flocks? and the ſeed of the Serpent be the great Inſtrument that muſt break the Serpents head*; *and the lovers of ſin be they that muſt be the ſuppreſſers of it*; *and thoſe employed to teach in Knowledge, who themſelves will not know*; *and to preach up Holineſs, that will not endure it?* And *p.* 124. *The truth is, that is an excellent perſon to us, who is an odious and contemptible perſon to the Prelates. If he will make the People believe that Presbyterians are Rebels, and Diſciplinarians are ſeditious brain-ſick fellows, living in Hypocriſie: And that praying without Book, and much preaching, is Fanaticiſm*; *and that none are worthy to Preach the Goſpel who will not ſwear to be true to the Prelatical intereſt: That Drun-*

kenneſs in a conformable Man is a tolerable infirmity; and that their ignoranteſt Nonſence is fitter to ſave Souls and edifie the Church, than the Labours of the Holy and Learned Non-conformiſts: That Calvin *was a Rogue* (as *Salmaſius* ſaid of the Learned Dr. *Hammond:*) *That* Cartwright *and* Ameſius *were diſcontented factious Schiſmaticks, unworthy to preach or be endured; this is a Son of the Church, and an excellent Perſon.* P. 213. of the *ſecond* Part, Conſect. 3. He ſays, *That to Swear, Subſcribe,* &c. *That though Millions ſhould ſwear to endeavour a Reformation of Epiſcopacy in their Places and Callings by lawful means* (which is his addition, there is no obligation lieth on any one of them ſo to endeavour it) *the Lord have mercy on that Land, City, or Soul that is guilty of it.* And *Conſect.* 4. *All carnal Intereſt, and all carnal Reaſon, is on the Dioceſans ſide; and all the luſts of the heart of Man, and conſequently all that the Devil can do; and therefore while carnal Chriſtians make a Religion of their Luſts and Intereſts, and Pride, and Covetouſneſs, and Idleneſs are more predominant than the fear of God and the love of Souls, no wonder if the Dioceſans Cauſe prevail with ſuch.* Conſect. 7. *Take but from ſuch Prelates the Plumes it hath ſtollen from Magiſtrates and Presbyters, and it will be a naked thing and ſimple name.* He ſays in the Preface, *The Sufferers will call the Prelates Perſecutors, Wolves in Sheeps clothing, who are known*

known by their fruits, their teeth and claws. P. 163. part 1. *It is the Prelacy that maketh almoſt all the Sects that be in* England *this day*; (whereas thoſe little Foxes were not heard of until the Wild-boars had broken down the Fences of Epiſcopacy) *and when they ſee what Miniſters, and how many hundred of them are ſilenced, and what Fellows are ſet up in their ſtead, they think they can never fly far enough from ſuch Prelates: and we that dwell among them do take them that diſlike their courſe and ways, to be generally the moſt religious and ſober People in the Land,* (but I think Mr. *Baxter* ſpake in jeſt, when he adds) *excepting always the King and Parliament.* And *p.* 167, 168. *That before the Prelates had again ruled ſeven years, there were ſeven and ſeven againſt them, for one that was ſo before:* Which is a notorious falſhood, there being a general Conformity until a Toleration was granted. And *p.* 161. he proclaims thus: *I am one of the eighteen hundred that have been ſilenced by better Authority than the Prelates alone; yet I think I am bound in Conſcience to exerciſe the Miniſtry which I received, whatever I ſuffer: and if the Sword ſtraitned me no more than my Conſcience of the Biſhops prohibition, I ſhould be very little hindred; for that* (ſaith he) *is vaniſhed into Air*, p. 163. And ſo it ſeems is the power of the Sword too with him: for that he means by *better Authority*, the Laws eſtabliſhed by King and Parliament. And yet this Man had taught other Doctrine: for *p.* 30.

of his *first Plea, Princes and Rulers may forbid all that preach Rebellion and Sedition, and punish them if they do it; and may hinder the incorrigible, whose preaching will do more hurt than good, from exercising the Ministry in their Dominions.* P. 32. *They should see that their Kingdoms be well provided of publick Preachers and Catechists, and may by due means compel the ignorant to hear and learn what Christianity is.* Sect. 36. *They may, when a Peoples ignorance, faction, or wilfulness make them refuse all that are truly fit for them, urge them to accept the best, and may possess such of the publick Temples and Maintenance, and make it the Peoples duty to consent, as is aforesaid.* (No great need then of *the Peoples consent*, which Mr. *Baxter* so much contends for.) Sect. 37. *They ought to hinder Preachers from uncharitable and unrighteous railing at each other, and unpeaceable controversies and contentions.* And *p.* 35. *sect.* 40. *They may make their own Officers* circa Sacra *to execute their Magistratical Power; and if they authorize any particular Bishops or Pastors to exercise any such power as belongs to the Prince to give, not contrary to Christ's Laws*, &c. *we judge that the Subjects should obey all such even for Conscience sake.* P. 117. *We deny not* (saith he) *but if the generality of the Ministry obtain their liberty by some small tolerable sin or errour, and the sounder part be few and unnecessary in that Country, prudence obligeth them to go to some other place that needeth them, and never to exercise their*

their Miniſtry where in true Reaſon it is like to do more hurt than good. And of this he maketh the Magiſtrate Judge, *p.* 265. of his *Way of Concord.* Yet *p.* 244. of his *Plea*, he ſays, *That though the execution of the Laws have coſt ſome excellent Men their lives already, we may know, that no execution ſhort of death or utter diſablement, will make the moſt conſcionable forſake their duty.* And *p.* 249. *Why we ſhould not ſpeak openly rather than in ſecret; and what but a Spirit of Envy or Carnal Intereſt, croſs to the intereſt of Chriſt, ſhould grudge at ſuch preaching, we cannot tell.* Nor can any one reconcile theſe Contradictions.

One thing I ſhall obſerve from this *Church-Hiſtorian*, mentioned in the Preface, *That when* Philip Nerius *ſet up his Oratorian Exerciſes at* Rome, *it was found neceſſary (to win the people) to uſe large, affectionate, extemporate Prayers, Expoſitions, and Sermons.* Yet when the Biſhop of *Worceſter* ſays, *This practice was brought into* England *by the Jeſuits, to bring the Liturgy into Contempt*, in the Preface to his *Hiſtory of Separation*; Mr. *Baxter* replies, *p.* 12. *That this is a ſad ſaying, and that there is no probability that the Jeſuits ſhould be the firſt ſetters up of this way in* England, (though the Biſhop gave two inſtances of it in Matter of Fact.) And ſays in the Preface to his *ſecond Defence*, That *the Biſhops's Book is made up of three parts: 1. Of untrue Accuſations: 2. Untrue hiſtorical Citations abundance: 3. Fallacious Rea-*

ſonings. As if there were not one true word in the whole Book: though even this imitating of *Philip Nerius* in extemporary Exerciſes and ſeparate Meetings, is by Mr. *Baxter* himſelf paralſel'd with ours as the Original and Copy, *p.* 22. of Preface to Mr. *Baxter's Now or Never: The Meetings of the* Oratorians *and their Exerciſes, are ſo like thoſe now abhorred by many*, &c. Then comes forth his *firſt* and *ſecond Plea for Peace.* Of the firſt, the Biſhop of *Worceſter* ſays, *It ſeems to be deſigned on purpoſe to repreſent the Clergy of our Church as a company of notorious, lying, perjured Villains, for conforming to the Laws of the Land, and Orders eſtabliſhed, with no leſs than thirty Aggravations of the Sin of Conformity.* And Mr. *Baxter* in his Anſwer ſeems to juſtifie it: And with a great deal of vain-glory, in the latter end of that Book printeth a complemental Letter ſent him from Mr. *Glanvil* in 1661. to ſhew how he loves the Applauſe of Men; of which, he ſays, he had been ſurfeited with Humane Applauſe, *p.* 133. which rather than he would want, he blows a Trumpet himſelf in another Book called the *Only way to Concord*, ſaying in the Preface to Biſhop *Morley* and Biſhop *Gunning*, *I am fully perſwaded that in this Book I have told you a righter way of Chriſtian Concord, more divine, ſure, harmleſs, and comprehenſive, fitted by Chriſt himſelf to the intereſt of all good Men, yea of the Church and all the World.* He ſpeaks as if he had gotten an infallible Spirit, and

and had not only the *Presbyter*, but the *Pope* in his belly. Whereas that way of Concord will rather prove a means of perpetuating Diſcord and Diviſions in the Church. In that Book he calls the Biſhops *Thorns and Thiſtles, the Military Inſtruments of the Devil*, and accounts them to be *mad Dogs*; applying a Welch Proverb to them, *Though thy Dog be thy own, truſt him not when he is mad*; in the *Premonition*. He rails at the Laws in a Verſe of *Ovid*:

Id quod natura remittit, Invidiè Jura negant.

(After the Contents.)

The Biſhop of *Worceſter* propounded ſeveral Conceſſions to be made for the eaſe of the Diſſenters, *viz.* The uſe of the *Croſs*, the *Surplice*, *Kneeling at the Sacrament*, &c. (in the cloſe of his Preface;) which Mr. *Baxter* rejects, ſaying, *That the benefit would redound* ſibi & ſuis, (*i. e.* to the Biſhop and his Party) *not reaching our neceſſities, but much better than nothing*, p. 21. of his *ſecond Defence*. Nothing will ſatisfie him, but the altering the Species of Epiſcopacy, changing the Liturgy for a Directory, and repealing ſuch Acts of Parliament as were made to ſecure the Peace of the Nation againſt ſuch ſeditious Perſons and Practices as had once deſtroyed it. And *p.*84. of his *third Defence*, part 2. Mr. *Baxter* threatneth another deſtruction to it: for comparing the Conſtitution of our Church to a ſeparating Wall, or dividing thorny Hedge, he pro-

feſſeth, *That he* (An. 1660.) *once made it the moſt earneſt action of his life, to prevent the building of this Wall or Hedge:* And adds, *I will do the beſt I can while I live to pull it down.* And I believe him: for then he hopes he ſhall be ſet up not as a Parochial Biſhop, but an Archbiſhop, ſucceeding the Apoſtles in the ordinary Office of Government; or at leaſt as an Officer of the King. And I have heard of a Propoſal, that Dr. *Owen* and Mr. *Baxter* may be two of the firſt Archbiſhops. P. 66. of the laſt part of that Book, he ſays, *That which hath been the chief cauſe and engine of Diviſion, will never become the means or terms of concord: but ſuch are the multitude of unneceſſary, uncertain, humane Decrees, Laws, and Canons of Faith and Religion, whatever the proud and ignorant ſay to the contrary.* (Yet *Solomon* ſaid, *In the multitude of Counſellors there is ſafety.*) P. 59. *In a word* (ſaith he) *Councils of Biſhops have been but Church Armies, of which at firſt the Patriarchs were Generals, and afterward Popes and Emperours, who fought it out for victory.* And p. 71, 72. he condemns the *Lutheran* and *Calviniſt*, the *Eraſtians* and *Behemiſts*, as well as the *Dioceſan* ways of Concord: And adds, *What the Independants have done towards Diviſion and Separation, it is in vain in this Age to recite; and many wiſe Men think that the Presbyterians over-violent rejecting of all Epiſcopacy, ſetting up unordained Elders, and National Churches, as headed by National Aſſemblies,*

blies, are diviſive and unwarrantable, as their making by the Scotch Covenant the renouncing of the Prelacy to be the Teſt of National Concord alſo was. What remains then? Nothing but Mr. *Baxter's* Model is the *Only, Only, Only way of Concord: More ſure, divine appointed by Chriſt himſelf,* &c. But where any Perſon ſhould find that Rule of which Mr. *Baxter* ſpeaks ſo confuſedly himſelf, is the great Queſtion; for thus he concludes that Book: 1. *Approving the beſt:* 2. *Tolerating the tolerable:* 3. *Sacraments free, and not forced:* 4. *The intolerable reſtrained, the Teſt of Toleration being this:* 5. *Whether ſuch tolerated Worſhip do more good or hurt:* 6. *Magiſtrates keeping all in peace, would heal us. But alas, Magiſtrates, Laws, and Power, are reſiſted: Every Faction count themſelves more tolerable than others, yea condemn others as intolerable; and judge of men and things at beſt, by their agreeing with their own perſwaſions; and ſo the* Only way of Concord *will leave us ſtill in Confuſion.* Yet Mr. *Baxter* fearing the Book would fall into the hands of bad Neighbours, he ſends it forth with the higheſt Commendations. In the Preface to his *ſecond Defence, I value it* (ſaith he) *above all the reſt, being aſſured that the Churches will never otherwiſe be healed, than by that impartial, ſure, and eaſie Catholick way, which ſome have reviled, but none ſince that I know of confuted*; nor need they: for it ſo confutes it ſelf, that there needs no other confutation

futation but the reading of it. Here it is that he calls the Clergy *Tyrants*, p.37. *Thorns and Thistles, grievous Wolves, and the Military Instruments of the Devil.* P. 123. *Under the name of Bishops, they are Troublers, Persecutors, and Destroyers.* P. 47. Here he says, *That to tell them as Mr.* Dodwel *doth, that no unlawful thing is imposed, will as much satisfie them, as if he had said that lying, perjury, and deliberately covenanting against God's Precepts, and for corrupting his sacred Doctrine, Worship, and Discipline, are lawful things.* P. 9. of his last part, He *accounts all Bishops and Pastors that have not the consent of the People, to be Usurpers.* And infers, p.10. *If the Temple or Tythes be given to a Priest or Bishop not lawfully called or consented to by the Flock, and another be lawfully called (i. e.* by the People) *whom the Magistrate casteth out of the Temple and Tythes, it is the Peoples duty to adhere to him that is justly called; it is not always a duty to adhere to him whom the Magistrate imposeth: the Churches met against the will of the Magistrates above three hundred years.* As if our Magistrates were Heathen Persecutors: for *Christian Magistrates* (he says, p.143.) *must keep peace among all, both approved and tolerated, and not suffer any unpeaceable Preaching or Disputes which tend to destroy Love and Quietness, nor suffer railing Calumnies against each other to be published or printed.* Now whether Mr. *Baxter*'s way be the *Only way of Concord*, or needs any other

other Confutation, let the Reader judge.

And ſuch as the *Way of Concord*, ſuch are the *Pleas for Peace*, (*i. e.*) Pleas for Schiſm and Diviſion, and ſuch Trumpets as give no uncertain ſound to a War. For he proclaims the *terms for Uniformity to be to them morally impoſſible, and is grieved that he muſt ſet forth an unarmed Defence.* He tells the People of many heinous ſins in their Conformity, though he had formerly encouraged it, and conformed himſelf as a Lay-man. But now *God-fathers and God-mothers*, the *Sign of the Croſs*, and *kneeling at Sacrament*, reading *the Apocrypha*, the *Office of Burial*, all are offered to the People as ſinful; or they are encouraged to think them ſo: for Mr. *Baxter* thinks it is a ſin in Magiſtrates to puniſh them for their Non-conformity. But the great quarrel is againſt the Laws for *Subſcription* and *Renouncing the Covenant*, &c. of which he ſpeaks dreadful things; calls them the *tearing Engines of the Law*; repreſents the Magiſtrates as *Perſecutors*, and the Clergy as *a company of notorious, lying, and perjured Villains.* And tells the Magiſtrates (in the Epiſtle, for they were the Legiſlators) *It is now ſeventeen years ſince near two thouſand Miniſters of Chriſt were by Law forbidden the Exerciſe of their Office, unleſs they did conform to Subſcriptions, Covenants, Declarations, and Practices which we durſt not do, becauſe we feared God.* (As if the Magiſtrates had no fear of God.) *The reaſon of which Impoſitions,*

Impoſitions, it is God, and not we, muſt have an account of from the Convocation, &c. By which, *&c.* he muſt mean the Law-makers. He ſays, *He had read the Books written for Conformity, and thinks Mr.* Tombs *had written more for Anabaptiſtry, a late* Hungarian *for Polygamy, many for Drunkenneſs, Stealing and Lying in caſe of Neceſſity, than they for the terms of Conformity, as the Conformiſts deſcribe them.*

His *ſecond Plea* is to the ſame tune: *It was publiſhed* (ſaith he in the Title Page) *to ſave our lives and the Kingdoms peace from the falſe and bloody Plotters, who would perſwade the King and People that the Non-conformiſts are Presbyterians and Fanaticks: And next, that it was ſuch Presbyterians that killed his Father: That our Principles are rebellious*, &c. and in the Preface makes this Challenge; *I deſire thoſe that ſeek our blood and ruine, to tell me, if they can, what Body or Party of Men on Earth have more ſound and loyal Principles of Government and Obedience.* He ſays indeed, *p.* 109. *We are far from deſigning any abaſement of the Clergy; nor do we deny or draw others to deny any due reverence to them*; yet he calls the *Biſhops Popiſh Clergy-men, Thorns and Thiſtles*, and the *Military Inſtruments of the Devil*; and complains of *tearing Engines, Goals, ſtarving, and bloody perſecution, ruine, and death.*

The very reading of ſuch things are to an in-

ingenuous Perſon a ſufficient Confutation of his Books, which being ſo many, (for he tells us *he hath written Eighty Books*, and many of them in the Plural Number, by a conſult it ſeems with the Brotherhood) I am fearful to meddle farther with, leſt I ſhould provoke the Legion (as ſome Learned Men already have) to rent and tear them in pieces. Such a Character as I have begun, if it were drawn by ſome Perſon that hath known the Man and his Communication from the beginning of our Wars (for I have diſcovered no more than what he was pleaſed to tell the World in his Writings) would be more effectual to ſilence and ſhame him, than all the Laws of the Land, or all the Arguments of his Learned Adverſaries, how cogent ſoever: for he is reſolved as long as he lives to have the laſt word, and to anſwer all that ſhall be ſaid againſt him with down-right railing Exclamations to the People, ſophiſtical Evaſions, and rather than fail, with plain Self-contradictions. And of late days his wont is to confute his Adverſaries as a young Scholar did *Bellermine* in one word, *Mentiris*. But if *contradictio ſit oppoſitionum Maxima*, (as Mr. *Baxter* grants) there is not a more common Lyar than he, who hath beyond any other ſo frequently and flatly contradicted himſelf (for of contradictory Propoſitions, if the one be true, the other is falſe, *i. e.* a lye.) And this being another fit medium to confute many

of

of his Writings, I may, if occaſion ſerve, make up one Volume more of Mr. *Baxter*'s Works, ſuch, as though he be able to ſplit a hair, he ſhall never be able to reconcile. Sir *Roger L'Eſtrange* hath given an Eſſay how far *Richard* differs from *Baxter*. So did the Reflector on his *Sacrilegious Deſertion*; and though but in a few Particulars, yet it put him to a Nonplus, and ſet him a whining, ſaying, *I can reconcile my own words, though he cannot: And all is not contradiction which Men that underſtand not words think ſo*, p. 148. of his *third Defence*. And *p.* 151. *I never taught Mr.* L'Eſtrange *to underſtand my Writings; but I can reconcile more than he can:* as if they underſtood not the difference between a Negative and Affirmative Propoſition. So that conſidering with what Contumely, inſtead of Argument, he hath anſwered the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, I think no diſcreet Man will trouble himſelf to anſwer his Impertinences. The *Impleader* of his *firſt and ſecond Plea*, anſwered all that was conſiderable in thoſe Books, and reflected on his Book of *Concord* and *Prognoſtication*; who returns ſcarce any thing but a *Mentiris*, even ſometimes when the *Impleader* repeated Mr. *Baxter*'s own words. The *Impleader* anſwered that bold Challenge of Mr. *Baxter* in his *ſecond Plea*, to ſhew what Party of Men were of more ſound Judgment than the Non-conformiſts in point of Obedience, *p.* 72. ſhews who were *Presbyterians*, who

who *began the War*, who *killed the Royal Martyr:* on what rebellious Principles they went, and who are plotting a Rebellion: of what dangerous conſequence his immoral Prognoſtication is like to be. Which things Mr. *Baxter* takes notice of in his *third Defence*, but in all haſte ſeeks to evade them, and complains *p.* 146. of his *third Defence*, that the Impleader *rakes up the actions of the evil Civil War, as if that were any thing to the preſent Cauſe; that he heaps up abundance of untruths: that he had fully confuted them before*; and then takes up an Exclamation, *O miſerable World! where the very Preachers of Holineſs, Love, and Peace, go on to the Grave and Judgment, and Eternity, fighting againſt Holineſs, Love, and Peace.* And whether Mr. *Baxter* be one of that number, let the Reader Judge.

If any ſhall demand to what purpoſe I have collected all this? I ſhould not have preſumed to give ſuch an Anſwer as Mr. *Baxter* hath prompted, *p.* 151. of his *third Defence, To ſhew whether I be not a giddy, mutable, ſelf-contradicting Fool and Knave.* I ſhould only have inferred, that notwithſtanding all his Pretences to Piety and Peace, he may probably have ſome evil Deſigns againſt both; for the Things related are moſtly Matters of Fact, recorded by his own hand; and therefore I hope his ſeduced Followers will conſider to what manner of Guide they have committed the conduct of their Souls; and what probability

bility there is of gathering *Grapes* from ſuch *Thorns*. And becauſe *by the mouth of two or three Witneſſes every thing is eſtabliſhed*, I ſhall conclude with the Teſtimony of two or three credible Perſons of his own Fraternity: The firſt is Mr. *Herle*, a noted Presbyterian, who, as Mr. *Bagſhaw* reports, ſaid of Mr. *Baxter*, *That it had been happy for the Church of God if Mr.* Baxter's *Friends had never ſent him to School.* The ſecond is Mr. *Cawdry*, who was of the ſame Opinion. And he mentions a third Perſon, as knowing in the Myſtery of Godlineſs as either of them, who ſaid, *That notwithſtanding the great noiſe raiſed about Mr.* Baxter, *he would end in fleſh and blood.* But theſe Teſtimonies are nothing to that whereby the great Judge, before whom he hath ſo often Summoned others, will ſentence him *ex ore ſuo.*

If any think Mr. *Baxter* is too ſeverely handled, let him conſider it is by a Rod of his own making, though it be ſmartly applied; and that though he be a thouſand times more obnoxious than the worſt of thoſe Biſhops whom he ſo Calumniates, yet hath he ſpoken maliciouſly and falſly of them; which the Collector hath not done by him. The beſt is, the words of ſuch a ſcandalous Perſon will not be taken as a blot. And I deſire my conforming Brethren not to be troubled at the Railings or Reproaches of this Zealot; and that they would forbear troubling him, who, as he ſaith, *hath been a dying Man almoſt theſe forty*

forty years. And though I never ſpake nor thought half ſo ill of him, as he hath recorded of himſelf; yet I ſhall charitably hope and pray, That if he live to ſee himſelf in this his own Glaſs, he will yet at laſt repent of thoſe Sins which he cannot but condemn as very heinous and dangerous in the ſight of God and Man. I ſhall be ſo charitable as to propoſe a method to eaſe him from one great fear. Mr. *Baxter* ſeems much troubled to think that his Adverſaries may have the laſt word of him. Now I perceive that Mr. *Hicringle* by oppoſing the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, hath ingratiated himſelf with Mr. *Baxter*, of whom he doth not come much ſhort in confident boaſting of himſelf. It is a difficult matter to infuſe to him the Art of Defining and Diſtinguiſhing, by which Mr. *Baxter* is able to evade any Argument: But this defect may be ſupplied, if Mr. *Baxter* bequeath him his Eighty Books, and enjoyn him eſpecially to ſtudy his *Arguments for Separation*, and the *heinous ſins of Conformity*, which he ſhall find often repeated, and to apply them on all occaſions. But let him not do as in his *Naked Truth*, conceal the Name of his Benefactor, but quote him *totidem verbis*; and ſo Mr. *Baxter* may have the laſt word as long as the Faction continueth. But if this fear be thus removed, I queſtion whether a greater will not follow (*viz.*) of being like *Jeroboam*, who having ſet up

Preface to *Second Defence.*

Calves at *Dan* and *Bethel* in oppoſition to the eſtabliſhed Worſhip, is recorded to have *made Iſrael to ſin*, not in his life-time only, but long after his death: and how dreadful the final Sentence of ſuch a one may be, I commend to Mr. *Baxter*'s moſt ſerious Meditations. But if Mr. *Baxter*, who ſo ſolemnly cites others to Judgment, continueth to go on impenitently to that dreadful day, I ſhall yet pray for him as he doth for the Conformiſts, *Lord have mercy on him.* And becauſe I doubt not but his Friends and Diſciples will raiſe a Monument to perpetuate the Memory of their Maſter, I ſhall commend this Characteriſtical Epitaph.

Hic jacet RICHARDUS BAXTER,
Theologus Armatus,
Loiolita Reformatus,
Hæreſiarcha Ærianus,
Schiſmaticorum Antiſignanus:
Cujus pruritus diſputandi peperit,
Scriptitandi Cacoethes nutrivit,
Prædicandi zelus intemperatus maturavit
ECCLESIÆ SCABIEM,
Qui diſſentit ab iis quibuſcum conſentit maximè:
Tum ſibi cùm aliis Nonconformis
Præteritis, præſentibus, & futuris:
Regum & Epiſcoporum Juratus Hoſtis:
Ipſumq; Rebellium Solennæ fœdus.
Qui natus erat per Septuaginta Annos,
Et Octoginta Libros.
Ad perturbandas Regni Reſpublicas,
Et ad bis perdendam Eccleſiam *Anglicanam*
Magnis tamen excidit auſis.

Deo Gratias.

REFLECTIONS
ON
Some Material Paſſages.

Firſt concerning the Marqueſs Antrim.

MR. *Baxter* had related in his Penitent Confeſſion, *N.*22. That he had read the King's Letter in *Spain* to the Pope, promiſing to venture Crown and Life for the Union of Chriſtian Churches, including the *Roman*; and whether it be true, as the *Scots* ſay, That the King put the Broad Seal to a Commiſſion for the *Iriſh* Rebellion, he determines not; but it's paſt doubt, that the Marqueſs of *Antrim* had his *Commiſſion*, (if Mr. *Baxter* means that he had a *Commiſſion*) for the *Iriſh* Rebellion in the firſt Inſurrection; yet he himſelf ſays, That *if a Subject had ſeen ſuch a Commiſſion, he was bound not to believe that the King was the Authour of it*, p. 16. of *ſecond Plea*

Plea for Peace. What ground then had he for his confidence, that Sir *Philem O Neale* had ſuch a Commiſſion as was boaſted of? But the Cheat was undeniably proved; but *Antrim*'s Commiſſion was not heard of till after the end of the War; and then there appeared no Evidence of it; nor do we find it mentioned in any Hiſtory of that War. I ſhall therefore ſet before the Reader Mr. *Baxter*'s Relation of that pretended Commiſſion, and then ſhew that his preſumption could have no other ground, but his vile Opinion that the Royal Martyr was a Papiſt, as he maliciouſly repreſents him; or from the Relation of *Ludlow*, or ſome other of the Regicides in that Scandalous Pamphlet, which is Mr. *Baxter*'s chief Authority, called *Murder will out.*

That I may clear the Prejudice of ſuch Readers as are too ready to give Credit to this Relation of Mr. *Baxter*, I deſire them to take notice that this Commiſſion to *Antrim* is pretended to be granted to authorize that Inſurrection of the *Iriſh*, wherein Two hundred-thouſand Proteſtants were maſſacred; which, if it had been true, how vainly and fooliſhly did Sir *Phelim O Neale* act in Counterfeiting another Commiſſion, and pleading that to countenance their Rebellion, if they had an Authentick one? Had *Antrim* ſuch a Commiſſion, and never made it known to Sir *Phelim O Neale*, or to the Lord *Muskerry* and *Mackguire*? Or if theſe Men had known of ſuch

a Commiſſion, would not they, or one of them, at leaſt have confeſſed it when their Lives and Eſtates were offered them upon that Condition before their Execution? And did not all three deny that they knew of any Commiſſion from the King, or that he was privy to their Riſing? How then is Mr. *Baxter* paſt doubt, that the Marqueſs of *Antrim* had that King's Commiſſion? which he aggravates as followeth.

Part 3. of Mr. *Baxter's Life*, p. 83.

I had forgotten one Paſſage in the former War of great remark, which put me into an amazement. The Duke of Ormond *and Council had the Cauſe of the Marqueſs of* Antrim *before them, who had been one of the* Iriſh Rebels *in the beginning of that War when two hundred thouſand Proteſtants were murdered.*

His Eſtate being ſequeſtred, he ſought Reſtitution of it when Charles *the Second was reſtored.* Ormond *and the Council judged againſt him as one of the Rebels. He brought his Cauſe over to the King, and affirmed that what he did was by his Father's* Conſent *and* Authority. *The King referred it to ſome worthy Members of his Privy Council to examine what he had to ſhow. Upon Examination they reported, that they found that he had the King's* Conſent, *or* Letter of Inſtructions *for what he did; which amazed many. Hereupon his Majeſty,* Charles *the Second, wrote to the Duke of* Ormond *and Council, to reſtore his Eſtate, becauſe it appeared that what*

what he did was by his Father's Order *or* Conſent.

Whereupon the Parliaments old Adherents grew more confident than ever of the righteouſneſs of their Wars: And the very Deſtroyers of the King, whom the firſt Parliamentarians called Rebels, *did preſume alſo to juſtifie their Cauſe, and ſaid, That the Law of Nature did warrant them.*

But it ſtopt not here, for the Lord Mazarine, *and others of* Ireland, *did ſo far proſecute the Cauſe, as that the Marqueſs of* Antrim *was forced to produce, in the Parliament of* England, *in the Houſe of Commons, a* Letter *of King* Charles *the Firſt's, by which he gave him Order for his taking up Arms; which being read in the Houſe, put them into a ſilence: But yet ſo egregious was their Loyalty and Veneration of Majeſty, that it put them not at all one ſtep out of the way which they had gone in. But the People without doors talked ſtrangely: Some ſaid, Did you not perſwade us that the King was againſt the Iriſh Rebellion? And that the Rebels belied him, when they ſaid they had his Warrant or Commiſſion? Do we not now ſee with what mind he would have gone himſelf with an Army into* Ireland *to fight againſt them?*

A great deal more, not here to be mention'd, was vended ſeditiouſly among the People; the ſum of which was intimated in a Pamphlet which was printed, called, *Murder will out*; in which they publiſhed the King's Letter, and

Animadverſions on it. Some that were ſtill Loyal to the King, did wiſh that the King that now is, had rather declared that his Father did only give the Marqueſs of *Antrim* Commiſſion to raiſe an Army, as to have helped him againſt the *Scots*; and that his turning againſt the *Engliſh* Proteſtants in *Ireland*, and the murdering ſo many hundred thouſands there, was againſt his will; but *quod ſcriptum erat, ſcriptum erat.* Although the old Parliamentarians expounded the Actions and Declarations, both of the then King and Parliament, by the Commentary of this Letter, yet ſo did not the Loyal Royaliſts; or at leaſt thought it no reaſon to make any change in their Judgments, or ſtop in their Proceedings againſt the *Engliſh* Presbyterians, and other Non-conformable Proteſtants.

Mr. *Baxter* adds in the Margin, *We are not meet Judges of the Reaſons of our Superiours Actions*, p. 83. part 3. of Mr. *Baxter's Life.* By which he ſeemeth to intimate that the Matter of Fact, how odiouſly and maliciouſly ſoever reported by him, is true; but he leaves it to others to conſider and judge of the Reaſons of it. He might with much more Ingenuity and Candor have practiſed himſelf that Advice which he gives to others in the ſecond part of the *Non-conformiſts Plea for Peace*, p. 16. That *if Subjects ſaw a Commiſſion under the Broad Seal to ſeize the Guards, deſtroy the Kingdom, or deliver it to Forreigners, they were bound to judge that*

that the King was not the Author of that Commiſſion. Subjects ſhould not have ill thoughts of Kings; though they be ſinful, their Faults are neither to be aggravated nor divulged. This is good Advice, and would have utterly deſtroyed the pretence of Sir *Phelim O Neale*, and thoſe bloody Papiſts that joyned with him in that execrable Maſſacre, for which they pretended a Commiſſion under the Broad Seal; whereas it appeared that the Broad Seal then in *Scotland*, had not been applied to any Commiſſion or Patent in ſome months before the date of that pretended Commiſſion. And the Forgery plainly appeared at the Trial of Sir *Phelim O Neale*, who, at his Trial, and alſo at his Execution, though he was offered Pardon for Life, and Reſtitution of his Eſtate, if he would own that he had a Commiſſion from the King to Authorize what he had done, he affirmed conſtantly, That he had no ſuch Commiſſion from the King, nor was his Majeſty privy to their Inſurrection. This Relation is atteſted by Dr. *Ker* Dean of *Ardah*, who was preſent at his Trial and Execution, and affirms the ſame in a Letter printed *Febr.* 28. 1681. a Copy of which I ſhall give you when I have told another part of his Confeſſion, *viz.* That he having found a Patent of the Lord *Caulfield*'s, when he ſeiz'd on *Charlemount*-Caſtle, to which the Broad Seal was annexed, he cauſed a Commiſſion

See *Burlace's Hiſt. of that War*, p. 29. part 2.

miſſion to be drawn agreeable to his own purpoſe, and cauſed that Broad Seal to be affixed to it, and ſo gave it out that he had the King's Commiſſion for what he did.

Now for the further clearing of the Royal Martyr from this foul Imputation, it will appear that he had Intelligence from abroad, that great Companies of Prieſts and Soldiers were from ſeveral Countries haſtening into *Ireland*; and that others from *Ireland* held Correſpondence with divers Soldiers of that Nation then in Forreign Service, which gave Suſpicion that there would be ſome Trouble in that Nation: whereupon his Majeſty, in a Letter drawn by Sir *Henry Vane*, and ſent to the Lords Juſtices in that Kingdom, charged them with great Care and Diligence to ſecure themſelves againſt what was likely to happen; a Copy whereof is ſubjoyned.

DR. John Ker *of* Ardagh, *being preſent in the Court in* Dublin *when Sir* Phelim O Neale *was Tried and Examined about a Commiſſion, which, as was ſaid, he had from* Charles Stuart, *for levying the War in* Ireland, *did teſtifie that the ſaid Sir* Phelim O Neale *anſwered, That he never had any ſuch Commiſſion; and that it being proved in Court by* Joſeph Travers *and others, that the ſaid Sir* Phelim *had ſuch Commiſſion, and did ſhow it unto the ſaid* Joſeph *and others in the beginning of the Iriſh Rebellion; the ſaid Sir* Phelim *confeſſed, That*

That when he ſurprized the Caſtle of Charlemount, *that he ordered one Mr.* Harriſon *and another Gentleman to cut off the King's Broad Seal from a Patent of the Lord* Caulfield's *which he found in* Charlemount, *and to affix it to a Commiſſion which Sir* Phelim *had ordered to be drawn. And the ſaid Mr.* Harriſon *did, in the face of the whole Court, confeſs that by Sir* Phelim's *order he did ſtitch the ſilk Cord or Label of that Seal, and fixed the Label and Seal to the ſaid Commiſſion. And the Court urging the ſaid Sir* Phelim *to declare, why he did ſo deceive the People; he anſwered, That no Man could blame him to uſe all means to promote the Cauſe he had ſo far engaged in. And upon the ſecond day of his Trial, ſome of the Judges told him, That if he could produce any material proof that he had ſuch a Commiſſion from* Charles Stuart, *to declare and prove it before Sentence had paſſed againſt him, that he the ſaid Sir* Phelim *ſhould be reſtored his Eſtate and Liberty. But he anſwered, That he could prove no ſuch thing: Nevertheleſs they gave him time to conſider of it till the next day; upon which day, Sir* Phelim *being urged again by the Court, he declared again That he never could prove any ſuch thing; and that he could not in Conſcience calumniate the King, though he had been frequently ſollicited thereunto by fair Promiſes and great Rewards while he was in Priſon. And proceeding further in this diſcourſe, he was ſtopt before he had ended what he had to ſay: And the Sentence of Death was pronounced againſt him.* And

And the ſaid Dr. Ker *further declares, That he was very near the ſaid Sir* Phelim *when he was upon the Ladder at his Execution, and that one Marſhal* Peak, *and another Marſhal, before the ſaid Sir* Phelim *was caſt off, came riding towards the place in great haſte, and cried aloud, Stop a little: and having paſſed the Throng of Spectators, one of them whiſpered with the ſaid Sir* Phelim; *and the ſaid Sir* Phelim *anſwered in the hearing of ſeveral hundreds, of whom I was one, I thank the Lieutenant-General for his intended mercy; but I declare before God and his holy Angels, and all you that hear me, that I never had any Commiſſion from the King for what I have done in Levying or Proſecution of this War, and do heartily beg your pardon,* &c. *To the Teſtimony whereof the ſaid Dr.* Ker *did ſubſcribe his Seal* Febr. 28. Anno Dom. 1681.

Sir *Henry Vane*'s Letter to the Lords Juſtices concerning ſome Informations of Danger in *Ireland.*

Right Honourable,

HIS Majeſty hath commanded me to acquaint your Lordſhips, with an Advice given him from abroad, and confirmed by his Miniſters in Spain *and elſewhere, which in this Diſtempered Time and Conjuncture of Affairs deſerves*

ſerves to be ſeriouſly conſidered, and an eſpecial Care and Watchfulneſs to be had therein: which is, That of late there have paſſed from Spain *(and the like may well have been from other parts) an unſpeakable number of Iriſh Church-men for* England *and* Ireland, *and ſome good old Soldiers under pretext of asking leave to raiſe Men for the King of* Spain; *whereas it is obſerved, among the Iriſh Friars there, a Whiſper runs, as if they expected a Rebellion in* Ireland, *and particularly in* Connaught. *Wherefore his Majeſty thought fit to give your Lordſhips this Notice, that in your Wiſdoms you might manage the ſame with that dexterity and ſecreſie, as to diſcover and prevent ſo pernicious a Deſign, if any ſuch there ſhould be, and to have a watchful Eye on the Proceedings and Actions of thoſe who come thither from abroad, on what pretext ſoever. And ſo herewith I reſt,*

Whitehall,
March 16.
1640.

Your Lordſhips
moſt humble Servant

Henry Vane.

The Original Letter was found among the Papers of Sir *John Parſons*, one of the Lords Juſtices.

Moreover, Archbiſhop *Uſher* ſaw a Letter of the King's own Writing to the Lords Juſtices

ſtices to the ſame purpoſe about the ſame time, as he affirm'd to Bp. *Hacket*, who relates the thing in the *Life of Archbiſhop* Williams, part 2. p. 19. So that there can be no colour of his Majeſty's deſigning ſuch an Inſurrection, againſt which he often repeated his Solemn Proteſtations, publiſhed Declarations, and made many Overtures to the Parliament of *England* for the Suppreſſion of that Rebellion, concerning which his Meditations in the Twelfth Chapter of his Book Εἰκὼν Βασιλ. he ſays enough to ſatisfie any but an Infidel: as firſt, *That the Sea of Blood which had been there barbarouſly and cruelly ſhed, was enough to drown any Man in eternal infamy and miſery, whom God ſhould find the malicious Author or Inſtigator of its effuſion; and that there was nothing that could be more abhorring to him, being ſo full of ſin againſt God, diſloyalty to himſelf, and deſtructive to his Subjects.*

Yet *ſome Men*, ſaith he, *took it very ill not to be believed, that what the Iriſh Rebels did was by my privity at leaſt, if not by my Commiſſion: But theſe knew too well, that it is no news for ſome of my Subjects to fight, not only without my Commiſſion, but againſt my Command and Perſon too, and yet to pretend they fight by my Authority, and for my Safety. But as I have no Judge but God above me, ſo I can have comfort to appeal to his Omniſcience.* Which he doth with this Imprecation in a Soliloquy immediately following, in theſe words: *If*

I

I have deſired or delighted in the woful day of my Kingdoms Calamities; if I have not earneſtly ſtudied, and faithfully endeavoured the preventing and compoſing of theſe bloody Diſtractions; then let thy hand be againſt me and my Father's houſe. And the Reſtoration of his Son in ſo wonderful a manner, ſeems ſtrongly to aſſert the Father's Innocency.

The beginning and progreſs of that barbarous Maſſacre, will appear in divers Authentick Papers in Mr. *Nalſon's Collection*, part 2. p. 543. But I need mention no more concerning the King's obſtinate averſion to Popery, then what he ſays in the following Letter to the Heads of the Popiſh Party.

A Letter by the King's Order to the Lord *Muskerry*, &c.

HE tells the Rebels ——*Your Party it ſeems is not ſatisfied with the utmoſt that his Majeſty can grant in Matters of Religion, that is, the taking away the Penal Laws againſt Roman Catholicks in that Kingdom; and his Majeſty hears that you inſiſt upon the Demands of Churches for the Publick Exerciſe of your Religion, which is the occaſion that his Majeſty hath commanded me to write thus frankly unto you, and to tell you, That he cannot believe it poſſible that rational and prudent Men (had there*

there been no Profeſſions made to the contrary) can inſiſt upon that, which muſt needs be ſo deſtructive to his Majeſty at the preſent, and to your ſelves in the conſequences of his Ruin. Wherefore my Lords and Gentlemen, to diſabuſe you, I am commanded by his Majeſty to declare unto you, That were the condition of his Affairs much more deſperate than it is, he would never redeem them by any Conceſſion of ſo much wrong, both to his Honour and Conſcience. It is for the defence of Religion principally that he hath undergone the Extremities of War here, and he will never redeem his Crown by ſacrificing it there. So that to deal clearly with you, as you may be happy your ſelves, and be happy Inſtruments of his Majeſty's Reſtoring, if you will be contented with Reaſon, and give him that ſpeedy aſſiſtance which you well may; ſo if nothing will content you but what muſt wound his Honour and Conſcience, you muſt expect that, how low ſoever his Condition is, and how deteſtable ſoever the Rebels of this Kingdom are to him, he will in that point joyn with them the Scots, or any of the Proteſtant profeſſion, rather than do the leaſt act that may hazard that Religion, in which and for which he will live and die. Having ſaid thus much, by his Majeſty's command, I have no more to add, but that I ſhall think my ſelf very happy if this take any ſuch effect as may tend to the Peace of that Kingdom, and make me

Cardiff, Aug. 1. 1645. Your affectionate humble Servant.

This

This Lord alſo, at the time of his Execution, did moſt ſolemnly, as he hoped for Salvation, declare the Kings Innocency as to that War.

When the Reader hath ſeriouſly conſidered the import of this Letter, I earneſtly intreat him to read the ſecond Meditation of the Εἰκὼν Βασιλική, relating to the Death of the Earl of *Strafford*, and I dare appeal to his Conſcience, of what quality ſoever he be, whether it were morally poſſible for ſuch a Perſon who ſo paſſionately, and for many years till his very death almoſt, daily bewailed his conſtrained and unwilling aſſent to his death, to have a Conſcience ſo ſeared and void of all ſenſe, as in caſe he had been wilfully and deſignedly guilty of promoting and maintaining that barbarous War, wherein as well the Blood of thoſe that fought under my Lord *Ormond* by his undoubted Commiſſion, as of thoſe that fought againſt him by a falſly pretended one, might juſtly have been charged on him, if that pretence had been true, to have lived about Seven years, and died without any regret of Conſcience for ſo much Blood-guiltineſs.

Biſhop *Hacket*'s Teſtimony on *July* 24. 1654.

AT Rigate *in* Surry *I had conference about this Defamation with that excellent Primate of* Armagh, *ſaith he, Stop their mouths with this that I ſhall faithfully tell you. Sir* Will. Parſons, *our Chief Juſtice, was much intruſted with the King's Affairs in* Ireland; *he deceaſing, his Friends ſent his Papers to me. In his Cabinet I found a Letter written by the King, to warn him to look well to the meetings of the Popiſh Iriſh, for he had received certain Intelligence out of* Spain, *that they were upon ſome great Deſign of Blood and Confuſion,* &c. *I was ſo ſcrupulous,* ſaith Biſhop *Hacket, to forget nothing of this Relation, that before I ſtirr'd, I wrote down the ſpeaker, the words, the place, the year and day.* Page 197. part 2. of Archbiſhop *Williams*'s Life.

There needs nothing more to be ſaid of Mr. *Baxter*'s being paſt doubt that *Antrim* had the King's Commiſſion for the Iriſh firſt Inſurrection, than what the King replied to that virulent Remonſtrance of no farther Addreſſes, *p.*289. of the *Kings Works*, printed 1662. *That if the Iriſh Rebellion can be juſtly charged on the King, then I ſhall not blame any for believing all the reſt of the Allegations againſt him*

The

The Regicides in the laſt Charge againſt the King, did not impute to him any hand in the firſt Inſurrection in *Ireland*; but only his continuing Commiſſions to the Prince and other Rebels, and to the Earl of *Ormond*, and to the Iriſh Rebels and Revolters aſſociated with him. Mr. *Baxter* it ſeems could have proved much more, that he gave a Commiſſion to *Antrim* for that War, wherein two hundred thouſand Proteſtants were ſlain.

I am not ſo well read in the managing of that War, as to find *Antrim* named, either as Commander, Counſellor, or Confederate, until the Ceſſation was treated of *July* 19, 1643. and the firſt publick Imployment of *Antrim* was his being ſent with *Muskerry* into *France* to the Queen, when the Confederate Papiſts were in a low Condition, to deſire her and the Prince to compaſſionate them, and reſtore them to their Protection, making many Proteſtations of their Duty, and applying themſelves to his Majeſty's Service; but this was when the King was in Priſon; and what they promiſed for the King's Service, or what they performed, we find not. See *Burlace*'s *Hiſt. p.* 119.

His Majeſty's Anſwer to the two Papers concerning *Ireland*, delivered by the Parliaments Commiſſioners at *Uxbridge*, which is to be ſeen, *p.* 553. in his Works, do abundantly juſtifie the Ceſſation of Arms made with the Iriſh by *Ormond*.

The Letter of *Charles* the Second, printed in the Pamphlet called *Truth brought to Light*, which I ſuppoſe is the ſame in that other Pamphlet, called *Murder will out*; ſays—*Our Referrees report that they have ſeen ſeveral Letters of our Royal Fathers hand writing, and ſeveral Inſtructions to the ſaid Marqueſs concerning his treating and joyning with the Iriſh in order to the King's Service, by reducing them to their Obedience, and by drawing ſome Forces to them for the ſervice of* Scotland; *and that beſides the Letters under the King's hand, they had ſufficient Evidence and Teſtimony of ſeveral private Meſſages and Inſtructions from our Royal Father, and from our Royal Mother*, (N.B. This was probably in 1648. when the King was like to be murdered, for then we find *Antrim* and *Muskerry* were with the Queen and Prince in *France*) *with the privity and direction of the King our Father.* So that this was done to reduce the Papiſts to Obedience, and to draw ſome Forces for his Service, he being then in Extremity. Suppoſing then that all this were true, of which I doubt, becauſe *Antrim* ſtill adhered to the Pope's Nuncio, and oppoſed *Ormond*; who can juſtly blame the King for imploying and interfering one Rebel againſt another to ſave his Life. To conclude, although the Proteſtations of Sir *Phelim O Neale*, *Muskerry*, and *Mackguire*, at the time of their deaths, denying that they knew of any Commiſſion of the King's for raiſing or countenancing

cing that Iriſh Inſurrection, when if they had owned it they might have ſaved their Lives and Eſtates, and the Regicides could not mention it in their Charge at his Trial, be a ſufficient Evidence of the King's Innocency, yet his Majeſty's frequent Aſſeverations, ſolemn Imprecations, and dying Proteſtations, make it paſt doubt, that Marqueſs *Antrim* had not a Commiſſion from *Charles* the Firſt for raiſing or encouraging that bloody War, wherein Two hundred thouſand Proteſtants were murdered.

When I firſt read this Relation of Mr. *Baxter*'s, it called to my mind that which the preſent Biſhop of *Worceſter* ſaid concerning him, *That he would die leaving his ſting in the wounds of the Church*; which he hath verified in the Hiſtory of his Life. And I may add, That he hath poured forth the very bottom of his Gaul to blacken the Memory of the Royal Martyr. I cannot therefore let it paſs without ſome Remarks upon it.

And firſt, I conſidered what Authority he had for this Report, and I found in the Margine that he quoted only a Pamphlet called *Murther will out*; which was a ſcurrilous Libel, written, as is believed, by the infamous *Ludlow*, who was one of the King's Judges. Now to give ſome colour to this Pamphlet, Mr. *Baxter* beſtows Notes of Admiration, as that it is of *great remark*, and put him into *Amazement*, and he ſeems to wonder how he ſhould forget

it in his former Relation of that War. The Subſtance of the Relation is, That *Antrim*'s Eſtate being ſequeſtred when *Charles* the Second was reſtored; and that having applied himſelf to *Ormond*, and the Council in *Ireland*, they judged againſt him as a Rebel; ſo that in all probability he had no Order or Commiſſion from *Charles* the Firſt to produce: but coming into *England*, he pleads to *Charles* the Second, that he had his Father's Conſent and Authority. For proof whereof the King referred his Cauſe to ſome of his Privy Council, who, on Examination, found that he had his Fathers the King's Conſent. But none beſides, Mr. *Baxter* ſays the Letters were a Commiſſion for the firſt riſing; and probably the Plea which *Antrim* then made, was grounded upon ſome Order which he had received from *Charles* the Firſt while confined, or from King *Charles* the Second whilſt he was yet but Prince of *Wales*: for by *Burlace*'s Relation, *p.* 199. the Confederate Catholicks being diſtreſſed by their Enemies, they ſent *Antrim* and *Muskerry* to the Queen and the Prince in *France*, to take Compaſſion of their miſerable Condition: and both the Queen and Prince told them, *That they would ſhortly ſend a Perſon qualified to treat with them, who ſhould have power to give them whatever was requiſite to their Security and Happineſs.* And they returned to *Ireland* well ſatisfied with what was then granted them, which probably was very large,

large, the Prince being then wholly at his Mothers diſpoſe; and how far the King might remember what Orders and Conceſſions he had made them at that time, or ſome time afterwards, this was that which prevailed for the reſtoring of *Antrim* to his Eſtate, and not any Order from K. *Charles* the Firſt. But here it is to be noted, that theſe things were tranſacted in the Year 1648. when the King was a cloſe Priſoner, and therefore no Commiſſion could be had from him; much leſs is it like that he had given *Antrim* a Commiſſion in the beginning of that War which was in 41, which was denied by Sir *Phelim O Neale*, and the Lords *Mackguire* and *Muskerry*, at their ſeveral Executions, and was never pretended by any of the leading Papiſts in their Declarations or Confeſſions. Or if they had pretended any ſuch Order or Commiſſion, who could believe any reality or truth in it, when it is moſt certain, that the King did commiſſion the Noble *Ormond*, as his Lord Deputy, to manage that War for his Proteſtant Subjects againſt thoſe bloody Rebels, which continued for ſeveral years; which, as the good King complains in that Twelfth Chapter of the Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, were to repreſent him to the World as a Cyclopick Monſter, whom nothing would ſerve to eat and drink but the Fleſh and Blood of his own Subjects.

Mr. *Baxter* adds, *That* Antrim *was forced to produce in Parliament a Letter of King* Charles *the Firſt, by which he gave him order to take up Arms.* Mr. *Baxter* is the firſt that I have heard or read to mention this particular, and by the event it appears, that either there was never ſuch a Letter produced, or what he pretended to be the King's Order and Inſtructions, was not for raiſing the firſt War, (for then doubtleſs ſome of that Parliament, who had ingaged againſt the King in the late War, would have been loud and clamorous enough, but they were all ſilent, and went not a ſtep out of their way) but a Ceſſation being agreed on, ſome of the Popiſh Party being beaten, and in fear of utter ruine, thought it more eligible to joyn themſelves with my Lord *Ormond*, than become a Prey to the Parliaments Army, who were reſolved on their utter Extirpation. This was in the Year 1648. and then, for ought I know, he might have ſomething to plead for himſelf with *Charles* the Second. I remember that there was a Caſe brought into the Houſe of Peers, between the Lord of *Ormond* and the Lord of *Angleſey*, wherein the former was Accuſed by the latter for the Ceſſation of Arms made by him, and his joyning with ſome of the Papiſts, wherein the Lord of *Ormond* was acquitted by his Peers. I have not the Caſe by me, but it will give much light to this Affair.

All

All the talk without doors, which Mr. *Baxter* ſays was murmured by the People, was probably the ſcandalous Suggeſtion of his inveterate Malice to that good King, againſt whom he had been an active Enemy during that War; and would now juſtifie himſelf and others upon this late and falſe pretence, That the King gave his Commiſſion to *Antrim* for that Inſurrection, wherein Two hundred thouſand were ſlain.

But that the Veracity of Mr. *Baxter* in relating of Hiſtory may appear, I will ſet before the Reader one notorious Inſtance which he produceth, *p.* 199. of the third part of his Life, in theſe words —*Many French Miniſters ſentenced to death and baniſhment, came hither for refuge, and the Church-men relieve them not, becauſe they are not for Engliſh Dioceſans and Conformity.* Where I ſhall take notice of the groſs falſhood of firſt the Matter of Fact; and ſecondly, of the Reaſon and Occaſion of it.

Firſt, As to Matter of Fact, *viz. That the Church-men did not relieve thoſe French Miniſters, who being Sentenced to Death and Baniſhment, fled hither for refuge*; this is ſo loud a Lie as needs no Bell to proclaim it. The Matter of Fact is ſo notoriouſly evident to the contrary of what Mr. *Baxter* reports, that almoſt every Churchman in *England* can diſprove it. The Reverend Biſhop of *London* did moſt affectionately compaſſionate their Caſe, and made competent proviſion for a great number of them,

as

as tenderly as a Father could do for his Children. He ſent down ſome into every Dioceſs of the Province of *Canterbury*, with earneſt deſire to the ſeveral Biſhops to provide for them; in order whereto, ſeveral of thoſe diſtreſſed Miniſters were fixed in beneficial Curacies. The Regiſter for the Biſhop of *Exon* hath Recorded the ſeveral Names of ſuch French Miniſters as were Ordained by him to Exerciſe their Miniſtry in the places hereafter mentioned. Mr. *Johannis Jacobus Manzino* was Ordained Presbyter to Officiate at *Barnſtable*, *March* 22. 1685. Mr. *Jacobus Sanxay* Ordained Presbyter, and ſetled in the Pariſh-Church of St. *Olaves Exon.* Mr. *Johannis Calvetus* and Mr. *Johannis Gardian Giury* were both Ordained Presbyters. Mr. *Daniel Cauniers* was Ordained Presbyter, and Inducted to a competent Benefice called *Eaſt-Budly* in *Devon*, *May* 25. 1686. Mr. *Peter Pabouleus* was Ordained and Setled at *Falmouth.* Mr. *Andrew Coyaldus de Sante* Ordained and Setled at *Darmouth.* Mr. *Lodovicus Beenaudeau* Ordained and Setled at *Biddiford.* Divers others, who had been Ordained at *London*, were ſent hither and provided for. But how great the number was which were Setled in and about *London*, and other Dioceſſes, is too large to be inſerted here. Therefore Mr. *Baxter's* Affirmation, That the Church men relieved them not, is notoriouſly falſe, and a *Scandalum Magnatum.*

Secondly,

Secondly, Nor is the Reaſon which he gives for their not relieving them leſs ſcandalous; *for it was*, ſaith Mr. *Baxter*, *becauſe they were not for Engliſh Dioceſans nor Conformity:* whereas all the Perſons above-named, did ſubmit to Epiſcopal Ordination, and declared their Conformity; which accordingly they did practiſe in their ſeveral Congregations, having the Engliſh Liturgy tranſlated into French for that purpoſe. Could Mr. *Baxter* have diſcovered ſo groſs a falſhood in any Writing of a Conformiſt, he would have branded it with all the Notes of Infamy that his ſnarling Rhetorick and Malice could have invented. But I ſhall make only this Reflection upon it, *viz.* That this Calumny is one of the laſt Periods in the cloſe of his written Life, which once more called to my remembrance what the Biſhop of *Worceſter* ſaid of Mr. *Baxter*, *That he would die leaving his ſting in the wounds of the Church.*

But where went the Charity of Mr. *Baxter* and thoſe liberal Friends who made him their Almoner? He tells us, *That this did begin and end at home to help the ſilenced Miniſters and the Poor.* Such Poor probably as frequented their Conventicles; for theſe are every where the Objects of the Presbyterian Charity; though none boaſt more that they are Men of Catholick and Univerſal Charity. But it was particularly deſigned to increaſe the number of ſuch as followed them for their Loaves.

Had

Had any Man the opportunity to inſpect the Subſcriptions of the ſeveral Biſhops, Deans and Chapters, and other Dignitaries of the Church, as alſo of both the Univerſities, towards the Relief of the Refugees, he may find not only a bountiful Supply for the preſent, but Proviſion made for their future Subſiſtance, as Brethren, and profeſſed Members of the ſame Church, with us who want not the countenance or incouragement of the Conforming Clergy to this day.

My great Age and Infirmities (being now within one year as old as Mr. *Baxter* was at the time of his death) do enforce me to omit many other Remarks of Pride, Hypocriſie, and Contradictions, which he that runs may read in this and other Writings of our Author, which I leave to the Obſervation of ſuch as better knew the Man and his Communication, and ſhall make only this one Reflection more on his partiality in cenſuring the Conformiſts and Non-conformiſts of all ſorts and degrees.

And firſt, the Reader may ſee his hyperbolical Commendations of his Non-conforming Brethren, from *p.* 90. to *p.* 99. of his Life, where he gives the Character of ſuch of the Eighteen hundred ſilenced Miniſters as were his Neighbours, not ſpeaking by hearſay but perſonal acquaintance, which were between Forty and Fifty, beſides many whom he had forgotten; and about Forty *London* Miniſters, with Fifteen Independants; and others of ſeveral parts that

that were Fellow-ſufferers with himſelf. All which, if they deſerved the Titles which he gives them, he might have Canonized them as Saints in Heaven, on better grounds than he hath done by *Brooks*, *Pym*, and *White* in his *Saints Everlaſting Reſt.*

As to the Lay-Brethren of the Separation, he gives the preheminence to thoſe of his own Flock at *Kidderminſter:* And p. 85. part 1. he ſays, *Some of the poor Men did competently underſtand the Body of Divinity, and were able to judge in difficult Controverſies; and ſo able in Prayer, that few Miniſters did match them in order and fulneſs, in apt Expreſſions and holy Oratory with fervency.* And of *Six hundred Communicants*, which Mr. *Baxter* had there, he ſays, *there were not above Twelve of whom he had not good hopes of their Sincerity.* And this he imputes to his own Labours; *For before I came thither, there was about one Family in a Street that worſhipped God, and called on his Name; but before I came away, there was not paſt one Family in the ſide of a Street that did not ſo*, p. 88, 89. And he adds this reaſon of their proficiency, *That being Weavers, they could ſet a Book before them, ſtanding in their Looms, and ediſie one another by reading or talking.* Of ſuch Trades-men and Freeholders, he ſays, *that they are the ſtrength of Religion and Civility in the Land*; though ſuch made up the Mob which begun and continued our Wars, and deſtroyed our Religion by dividing it into innu-

innumerable Sects and Factions. So that Mr. *Edwards* obſerved in his *Gangreena*, that in the ſpace of four years after that Epiſcopacy was laid aſide, there were more Hereſies ſtarted in this Land, than had been known in the Univerſal Church from the foundation thereof.

As to his Cenſures of ſuch as lived in Conformity to the eſtabliſhed Religion, he is as impartial as Death, condemning them all as a prophane and perſecuting Generation, in a Book called *Cain and Abel:* How he hath branded the beſt of our Kings and the Clergy, hath been already ſhewn: How he Cenſures the Parliament and their Laws, which he calls *the tearing Engines that woried Two thouſand Miniſters, caſting them out of their Poſſeſſions into Poverty and Priſons to ſtarve and pine away; and for impoſing ſuch Oaths, Subſcriptions and Declarations, as any Man that feared God could not comply with,* is ſuch a Common Place, that I wonder it was no more taken notice of.

After this Cenſure of the Parliament, Mr. *Baxter* ſpeaks of the Nobility and Gentry in general, *p.* 134. where he ſaith, *I more than ever lament the unhappineſs of the Nobility and Gentry, and great Ones of the World, who live in ſuch temptations to Senſuality, Curioſity, and Waſting of Time about a multitude of little things, whoſe Lives are too often a Tranſcript of the Sins of* Sodom, *Pride, Fulneſs of Bread, and abundance of Idleneſs, and want of Compaſſion to the*

the Poor. And *p.* 89. *That Gentlemen and Beggars and Servile Tenants are the ſtrength of Iniquity in the Land*; though it was not very civil to put the Beggar on the Gentleman, yet it was much worſe to joyn them in the Bonds of Iniquity, and make the Compariſon between them and the Trades-men ſo odious, that theſe are reputed the ſtrength of Religion and Civility; but the Gentry and their Tenants and Beggars, the ſtrength of Iniquity. And he inſtanceth in Sir *R. Clare* and Sir *John Packington*, who much hindred his Succeſs in gathering Proſelytes in *Kidderminſter*. He gives this Character of Sir *R. Clare*, p. 94. part 1. *That he was an old Man of great Courtſhip and Civility, very temperate as to Diet, Apparel, and Sports; ſeldom ſwore any louder than by his troth; one that ſhewed him much perſonal reverence and reſpect beyond his deſerts, and converſed with love and familiarity. One that ſent his Family to be Catechiſed and perſonally Inſtructed, which ſwayed with the worſt among that People to do the like.* But being ruled by Dr. *Hammond*, he liked not of Mr. *Baxter*'s Preciſeneſs and Extemporary Prayer, and abſtained from the Sacrament, which Mr. *Baxter* delivered to ſuch as ſate or ſtood at the receiving it, which gave offence to Sir *R. Clare*: *whereby* (he ſays) *Sir* R. C. *did more to hinder his Succeſs than a multitude of others could have done.* And on ſuch an account all the Conforming Gentry are the ſtrength of Iniquity. And although

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the Poverty of Mr. *Baxter's* People, whereof the Maſter-workmen lived but little beter than their Journey-men, from hand to mouth, *p.* 94. was a help to his Succeſs: the Poor receiving *the glad tidings of the Goſpel*, and being uſually *rich in faith.* Yet for thoſe that frequent the Churches and Common Prayer, they are coupled with the Gentry, as the ſtrengtheners of Iniquity; whereas the Laws have provided ſuch a Competency for their Maintenance, as may keep them from beggary, which the Law alloweth not: but in truth the multitude of Beggars is occaſioned and increaſed by thoſe many Families that depend upon the Trade of Weaving, who living but from hand to mouth, are forced, on the decay of Trade for a few Weeks, to beg for their Subſiſtance, or to do worſe; of which ſuch places as abound with Men of that Calling have ſad experience. I have enlarged this Remark on Mr. *Baxter's* Charity, becauſe, as an Errour in the Foundation, it runs through the whole Narrative of his Life, and as a Root of bitterneſs, invenometh all that it brings forth. What Credit can his Profeſſion of Endeavours for Love and Peace, and his Pleas for Concord obtain, when he will allow of no other way of Concord but what he himſelf fancied, and all Chriſtian Churches have condemned? I only intreat the Reader of this, or Mr. *Baxter's* Deſcription of his Life, to carry in his mind thoſe properties of Chriſtian

Chriſtian Charity, mentioned in 1 *Cor.* 13, 4, 5, 6 and 7th Verſes. *Charity ſuffereth long, and is kind. Charity envieth not, vaunteth not it ſelf, is not puffed up. Doth not behave it ſelf unſeemly, ſeeketh not her own, is not eaſily provoked, thinketh no evil, rejoyceth not in iniquity, but rejoyceth in the truth. Beareth all things, believeth all things, endureth all things.* And then apply theſe Rules, as the Apoſtle doth, v. 1, 2, 3. *That though one ſpeak with the Tongues of Men and Angels; though he have the Gift of Propheſy, and underſtand all Myſteries, and all Knowledge; and though he have all Faith, ſo that he could remove Mountains; and though he beſtow all his Goods to feed the Poor, and have not Charity, it profiteth nothing.* And as St. *James*, chap. 1. v. 4. *If any man ſeemeth to be righteous, and bridleth not his Tongue, that man's Religion is vain.*

Mr. *LONG*'s ANSWER TO Mr. *BAXTER*'s LETTER,

Dated *July* 26. 1678.

And now printed in the *Appendix* to his Life, *p.* 108, 109, 110, 111.

Mr. *Baxter*'s Letter.

SIR,

I *Find that in a Book of yours, defending Schism against Mr.* Hales, *on pretence of opposing it, you were pleased to think many passages in my Writings worthy of your recital*

cital to your ends; I thank you that you choſe any words for peace, which ſome may make a better uſe of than your ſelf: But I think, if you had referred Men to my own Books to read them, with what goeth before and after, they would have been more eaſily underſtood. I underſtand by your Book that you think that you are in the right, which is the moſt that I have yet learned out of it; unleſs it be alſo that you think the Non-conformiſts be not yet hated and afflicted enough; or that he that ſweareth *muſt aſcend by treading upon him that feareth an* Oath? *I am in ſome doubt leſt you have wronged our Prelacy, by ſo openly proclaiming the Enmity of ſo great a Man as* Hales *againſt them, and by enticing Men by your noiſe to read his Book, which you contradict; which if they do, I doubt your Confutation will not ſave them from the Light. But the reaſon of my troubling you with theſe Lines, is only to crave ſome ſatisfaction about two or three Matters of Fact in your Book, which would ſeem ſtrange to me, did I not find ſuch things too common in Invectives againſt ſilenced Miniſters; and did I not know that it is part of Satan's work to perſwade the World, that no Hiſtory hath any certainty of Truth, that ſo Sacred Hiſtory may be diſadvantaged.*

I. *One is in theſe words,* p. 110. When they had in the grand Debate given in their Objections to the Liturgy, ſome of the Brotherhood had prepared another Form, but a great part of their Brethren objected many things

againſt that; and never as yet did (as I hear of) agree upon any other, nor I think ever will. *I crave the juſtice of you to tell us, which was that you call the Grand Debate? and who thoſe were that diſſented? or what proof you have of any ſuch things? Either you know what you ſay, or not? If not, and yet publiſh it in ſuch a manner, while you are accuſing others of ſin? What is this to be called? If you did, it is yet far worſe. Either you ſpeak of the* Weſtminſter *Aſſembly, which made the Directory; or of the Commiſſioners in* 1660. *Not the firſt ſure; for none I think was yet ever vain enough to pretend that they thus drew up another Liturgy. It muſt needs be the later: of which this is paſt denial by any but the*——— 1. *That the King's Commiſſion under the Broad Seal, authorized us to make ſome* [additional Forms]. 2. *The late Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *Dr.* Sheldon, *when we came according to appointment, to try by friendly Conference, what Alterations each Party might yield to for our deſired Concord, without any injury to their Conſciences, began with a Declaration,* That we being the Plaintiffs, they would no further proceed to treat with us, till we had given them in entirely in writing, 1. What we blamed in the Liturgy; and our Reaſons of it. 2. And what we deſired as better. *Mr.* Calamy *and others* ſaid, [This was plainly to deny the Conference which we were Commiſſioned for.] *And they would have broke off, had it not been for me, who*

who requeſted them rather to yield, and undertake it, than give them occaſion to charge us with Tergiverſation and Refuſal of any lawful thing; though I eaſily ſaw that the Motioner thought thereby to break us, as diſagreeing when we came to perform the undertaking. While others drew up their Exceptions againſt the Liturgy, they appointed me to draw up the Additional Forms. *But remembring the Biſhops* [what we deſired inſtead] *I drew up a* Liturgy. *It muſt needs be very imperfect, being done (in neceſſary haſte) in eight days. Dr.* Reignolds *only thought that we ſhould be blamed for offering a whole Liturgy inſtead of* Additional Forms. *I told him firſt, It was but to be added to the old, if reformed.* 2. *And they might cut off all that they thought ſuperfluous upon Debate, even all that the Biſhops ſhould except juſtly againſt; for we did but offer it to them, profeſſing we were ready to alter any thing upon their reaſons. Hereupon Dr.* Reignolds *yielded, and it was often read over among us; only the Prayer for the King being thought too long, Dr.* Wallis *was appointed to draw up a ſhorter, which he did; all the reſt ſtanding as I wrote it: It was agreed to without one diſſenting voice: Nor had we one Objection ſent us in by any other. I was appointed at a meeting with the Biſhops at the* Savoy, *at once to deliver them* this Liturgy, *a* Reply to their Anſwer to our Exceptions, *and a* Petition for Peace and Concord; *all which they had appointed me to draw up, and had examined*

amined and consented to. We waited for an Answer to all, and never had an answer to any one of them; but they kept them, and said nothing of them. I was especially desirous to have heard their Exceptions against our Liturgy (where they thought we would have disagreed among our selves) and urged some of them to it, and could never get a word of Answer or Exception, which made me wonder; as well knowing, 1. *How very willing some were to have found it faulty:* 2. *And how hard it is, in necessitated haste, to write such a thing that shall not be liable to many Exceptions. Yea, when* Roger L'Estrange *after wrote against us, he saith little at all against the Liturgy, save that we left men at too much liberty. To which we then said,* That imposing and restraining was not our work, but the Bishops; *who, we supposed upon debate, would have too much done it. Now if this* full Concord, *and no* Answer *or* Exceptions *from them that extorted this Work from us, be agreeable to the Report you make; or if you have here dealt like a Minister of Truth, I pray you help me to discern it. The Book, with the rest, was printed long ago; most of them by some poor Scriveners, that being used in transcribing, had got a Copy, and did it for gain.*

II. *Another passage is* p. 293. No sinful act being required to make Ministerial Conformity unlawful (which if there had been, they or some other would and ought to have discovered it, and then, I doubt not, it would by

by Authority have been taken away; but that being not done—— *Here I deſire you to ſatisfie me in a few things:* 1. *When even our publick Reply and foreſaid Petition againſt the old Conformity, were never anſwered to this day, is it ingenious to take this for a Confutation, barely to ſay* [It is not done?] *Should I ſay* [It was never yet diſcovered that Epiſcopacy is lawful] *would you not have called me——— as long as* Saravia, Bilſon, Hooker, *&c. are unanſwered?* 2. *Do you not know what abundance of old have thought they diſcovered the ſinfulneſs of Conformity* (Bradſhaw, Nicols, Ames, Parker, Jacob, Cartwright, *&c.*) *and what* Blondel, Salmaſius, Geriom, Bucer, Didoclave, *&c. have written againſt Prelacy; and ſome of late againſt our Conformity,* (Cawdry, Hickman, *and others yet unanſwered*) *And is this your dry Denial a rational Confutation?* 3. *Would not your words make the ignorant believe that we have the liberty of the Preſs, and may do it if we will: and do not the Act of Parliament, and the ſeveral Searches of the Preſs, and the Printers refuſal, ſhew how falſe ſuch an intimation is? It may be ſome ſmall Pamphlet may, with much ado, creep out; but ſo cannot any thing that is full and ſatisfactory? Our Cauſe is a meer ſtranger to our Accuſers; (it ſeems even to ſuch as you) becauſe we cannot have leave to print it: A few have heretofore, when the watch was leſs ſtrict, got ſomewhat out, to little purpoſe (Mr.* Hickman's *was beyond Sea) but nothing*

that may make us well understood. And is it fit work for a Minister to blame men thus publickly for not doing Impossibilites? 4. *It must be supposed that you know these things:* 1. *That the Law forbids us to deprave or speak against the Liturgy upon grievous Penalties.* 2. *That the Canon excommunicates us* ipso facto, *that is*, sine Sententia Judicis, *if we do but say that there is any thing that a man may not with a good Conscience conform to.* 3. *And that our present Governours are against it.* 4. *And that for doing it we are sure by Conformists to be called Disobedient to Authority, and Seditious.* 5. *And that we are so accused by you commonly for preaching when forbidden, which is as much our vowed duty sure as writing. And do you now tell us*, That we ought to discover it if there be any sinful act commanded? *Will you warrant us against the Charge of Disobedience, or do you drive us on that, which if we do, you know we are already judged to Excommunication, Jails and Ruine? We have long begg'd of Parliament men, that we might but once have leave to speak for our selves (which we never had as to the new Conformity to this day) and that we might petition for such leave; and they tell us these fifteen Years almost, There is no hope: it will but ruine you. I have offered two of the most eminent Bishops to beg it of them, or any, on my knees, that we might but once publish the Case and Reasons of our Dissent: And is it not enough to be fifteen or sixteen Years ejected, silenced, scorned, accused*

as

as unworthy to be endured, and to be ſilently patient, and never anſwer for our ſelves, nor have the common juſtice of being heard, but we muſt have the additional abuſe, to be told that we ought to do it? *Yea, many of the Conformiſts (O with what face!) have publiſhed to the World, that we take not the things which we refuſe for* ſins, *or dare not ſay ſo of them; when even the far eaſier Conformity* 1660. *we did by word and writing declare to be ſinful, and in our Petition for Peace (printed) proteſted, That did we not take it to be ſinful, and hazarding our Souls,* &c. *we ſhould never have ſtuck at Conformity to them. And it is no ſmall number of ſins ſo heinous which we ſuppoſe ſince impoſed, that we dare not ſo much as name them, leaſt we diſpleaſe you, and make you ſay, that we render the Conformiſts ſuch heinous ſinners! But I will alledge your Authority when any of us are next blamed for diſcovering the heinous ſinfulneſs of Conformity, as we yet believe it would be to us. If you ſay that the Licenſers would licenſe our Writings if we did it with ſobriety; 1. You know that the Canon and Law is againſt it. 2. I ſhall then in juſtice challenge you to make it good, I here promiſe you an account of my Non-conformity when ever you will procure it licenſed. 3. And which way got you ſo ſtrong a faith, as to be paſt doubt,* That did we diſcover any ſinfulneſs, it would by Authority have been taken away. *Make this true yet, (after near Two thouſand Miniſters have been near ſixteen years ejected and*

and ſilenced, and many killed by impriſonment, and the People of the Land divided and diſtracted by the tearing Engines) and you ſhall have the honour of being the greateſt healer of our breaches that ever roſe in the days of my remembrance. But if it be not true——

III. *The third paſſage is* p. 69, 70. *throughout. Theſe are great things to be ſpoken ſo boldly.* 1. *Do you ſuppoſe your Reader one that never read Church Hiſtory? What work the Biſhops made for* Arianiſm, *for* Neſtorianiſm, *for the* Eutychians *und* Acephalites, *againſt* Nazianzen, Chryſoſtom, *&c. for the* Monothelites, *about the* Tria Capitula, *for Images, againſt Emperours and Kings, ſetting up the Pope, and decreed the depoſition of all Princes that obey him not, and making Loyalty to be* Hæreſis Henriciana: *How the River* Orontes *at* Antioch *hath been coloured with the Blood, and the Graves of the Monks and People, that fought it out in the ſtreets for the ſeveral Biſhops? What work they made at the firſt Council at* Conſtance, *the firſt and ſecond at* Epheſus, *the Council at* Chalcedon, *and many another? How many Ages they were, and yet are the Army of the Pope, to ſubdue Princes and Nations, Truth and Juſtice, and ſet up the Evil that now reigneth in the Chriſtian World? How even againſt the Pope's will they made the beſt King and Emperour* Lodovic. Pius, *as a Penance, reſign his Crown and Scepter on the Altar to a Rebel Son, and ſent him to Priſon? He that ever read but* Baronius, Binius,

or

or other Epiſcopal Hiſtory, will pity you. Can you name one Presbyter for very many Biſhops, that have been the Heads or Fomenters of Hereſie, Schiſm or Rebellion? And yet Presbyters were more in number than Biſhops? Innumerable Biſhops, *ſaith* Binius, were in the *Monothelite* Council under *Philippicus*. *Of all things that ever befel the Chriſtian Church, I ſcarce know any thing comparable in ſhame and miſchievous effects, to the horrid Perfidiouſneſs, Contention, Schiſm and Pride of Biſhops; Curſing one year by hundreds all that were of one Opinion; and another year all that were of the contrary, as the Times and Intereſt and Emperours changed. And if* Arius *or* Novatus, Aerius *and* Donatus, *(which are all you name were the beginners of any Schiſm, how many hundred Biſhops were the promoters of them all, ſave that of* Aerius *againſt themſelves? And is it any honour to Epiſcopacy, that* Arius, *and* Aerius *(an Arian) were not Biſhops, when they are ſaid to be Seekers of Biſhopricks, and to divide becauſe they could not obtain them? Sure they were Prelatical Presbyters: What honour were it to Epiſcopacy that you are no Biſhop, if all theſe, and ſuch things, were vended by you in hope of a Biſhoprick, or ſome Preferment?* I will never whilſt I breathe truſt a Bresbyter that ſets himſelf to get Preferment, no more than I will truſt a——— *But did you know, or did you not, that as for* Novatus *and* Novatian, *one of them was an ill choſen Biſhop of* Rome, *and the other a promoter*

moter of his Prelacy? *And that as for* Donatus, *there were two of them; one of them a Biſhop: and that the* Donatiſts *Schiſm was meerly and baſely* Prelatical, *even whether their Biſhop or* Cecilianus *ſhould carry it? and that their re-baptizing and re-ordaining, and Schiſm, was becauſe they took none to have power that had it not from their Biſhop, as being the right? (like our re-ordainers.) And are theſe Inſtances to prove what you aſſert? Were it not for entering upon an unpleaſing and unprofitable task, I would ask you,* 1. *Who that* Juncto *of Presbyters was that dethroned the King? was it they that petitioned and proteſted againſt it?* 2. *Whether it was not an Epiſcopal Parliament (forty to one, if not an hundred) that began the War againſt the King?* 3. *Whether the General and Commanders of the Army, twenty to one, were not Conformiſts?* 4. *Whether the Major-Generals in the Counties were not almoſt all Epiſcopal Conformiſts? (The Earl of* Stamford *was over your Country.)* 5. *Whether the Admiral and Sea-Captains were not almoſt Epiſcopal Conformiſts? (As* Heylin *diſtinguiſheth them of Archbiſhop* Abbot's *mind diſliking Arminianiſm, Monopolies,* &c.) 6. *Whether the Archbiſhop of* York *were not the Parliaments Major-General?* 7. *Whether the Epiſcopal Gentry did not more of them take the Engagement (and many Epiſcopal Miniſters) than the Presbyterians?* 8. *Whether if this Parliament, which made the Acts of Uniformity and Conventicles, ſhould quarrel with*

with the King, it would prove them to be Presbyterians and Non-conformists? 9. Whether the Presbyterian Ministers of London *and* Lancashire *did not write more against the Regicides and Usurpers, and declare against them, than all the Conformists, or as much? And the Long Parliament was forced, and most of them cast out, before the King could be destroyed. And when they were restored, it made way for his Restoration. And Sir* Thomas Allen *Lord Mayor, and the City of* London's *inviting General* Monk *from the Rump into the City, and joyning with him, was the very day that turned the Scales for the King. But all these are Matters fitter for your better Consideration than our Debate.*

Your Servant,

Ri. Baxter.

Mr.

Mr. *LONG*'s Anſwer.

Mr. Baxter. *SIR, I find that in a Book of yours defending Schiſm againſt* Mr. Hales, *on pretence of oppoſing it, you were pleaſed to think many paſſages in my writings, worthy of your recital, to your ends.*

Anſw. Whether my Book which you mention, or that of Mr. *Hales* do moſt oppoſe Schiſm, is *ſub judice.* Had Mr. *Hales* oppoſed it, I wonder how you and ſo many Schiſmaticks, quoted him againſt Obedience to Authority, Epiſcopacy, and Liturgy, barely on pretence of things ſcrupled; and ſeeing I oppoſe Mr. *Hales* in moſt of the Paſſages that concern Schiſm by your Arguments, it muſt be you or he that defend it, and not I.

That I thought ſome Paſſages in your Writings worthy of my recital, and to my end, was firſt, Becauſe I thought your end to be the ſame with mine, (*i. e.*) to promote Peace and Unity, and to deſtroy Schiſm and Diviſion: For it was once your Reſolution, to ſpeak for Peace while you had a Tongue, to write for Peace while you had a Hand, and to live to the Churches Peace while you had an hour to live, and could do any thing that could promote it. And I hope you did not *verba dare.*

Secondly,

Secondly, Becauſe, as Mr. *Hales* was a Man in great eſteem with you, upon the account of that Tract, ſo are you with ſome others; and therefore I could not think of a better Argument *ad homines.* And I find that you with others, did urge fiercely the Authority of Mr. *Hales*, p. 2. of the *Exceptions* at the *Savoy*, in theſe words; *To load our publick Forms with private Fancies on which we differ, is the moſt ſoveraign way to perpetuate Schiſm to the Worlds end*, &c. which you refume *p.* 8. of your *Reply.* Though the Reverend Biſhops had anſwered, *We heartily deſire, that according to this Propoſal, great care may be taken to ſuppreſs private Conceptions of Prayer, leſt private Opinions be made the Matter of Prayer in publick, is it hath and will be, if private Perſons take liberty to make publick Prayers.* And on ſecond thoughts, I find you to agree with them, *p.* 201. of the *Cure of Diviſions*, in theſe words; *Every Separatiſt, Anabaptiſt, Antinomian, doth too willingly put his Errours into his Prayers.* On which words Mr. *Bagſhaw* in his *Antidote*, p. 7. doth thus Paraphraſe; *By mentioning of Separatiſts as a diſtinct Body of Men from the Antinomians, Quakers and Anabaptiſts, it is evident he can mean no other but his Presbyterian and Congregational Brethren.*

This I have noted by the way, that what I ſaid of his Brethrens diſſenting from his Reformed Liturgy (as he calls it) may not ſeem ſtrange, ſeeing he ſo far differs from it himſelf; for

for there he gives liberty to all Miniſters to Pray and Exhort, as they think fit: and here he declares againſt the Inconveniencies of it.

Mr. Baxter. *I thank you that you choſe any words of mine for Peace, which ſome may make a better uſe of than your ſelf. But I think if you had referred Men to my own Books to read what goeth before, and after, they would have been more eaſily underſtood.*

Anſw. They that read your words, which I have for the moſt part quoted, and heartily deſire them to peruſe, ſhall find, that I did not wreſt, or miſreport them. But in truth, if Men ſhall read your Actions before and after, they would find a great diſparity between them and your Words. And if I had ſhewn any fowl dealing in my Quotations, why did you not deal ſo fairly as to give one Inſtance.

Mr. Baxter. *I underſtand by your Book that you think that you are in the right, which is the moſt that I have learned out of it; unleſs it be alſo, that you think the Non-conformiſts be not yet hated and afflicted enough; or that, he that ſweareth, muſt aſcend by treading upon him that feareth an Oath.*

Anſw. I am the more confirmed that I am in the right, becauſe you ſay nothing to convince me of my Errour, for which I ſhould have thanked you. And if you have learned nothing by my Book, you may thank your ſelf; ſome Men muſt unlearn a great deal, before

before they are capable of learning any thing againſt their Prejudices and Intereſts. That I think the Non-conformiſts not hated and afflicted enough, is more than you can learn from my Book; and I challenge you to ſhew any Paſſage there tending to the puniſhment of Non-conformiſts, equal to that, which your own Principles ſuggeſt: For you ſay, *The Magiſtrate will quickly find that the Diſtractions of the Church will quickly breed, and feed ſuch Diſtractions in the Commonwealth, as may make them wiſh they had quenched the fire while it was yet quenchable. The fire that began in the Church, may, if let alone, reach the Court*, p. 209. of *Confirm.* You objected the like to another moderate Antagoniſt, p. 160. *Sacril. Deſertion*; *What good will our Sufferings do you? Do you feel your ſelves ever the more at liberty when we are in the Common Goals? Are you the fuller when ſome Non-conformiſts want bread? but upon better information you ſaw cauſe then, and may now, to retract that obloquy.*

As for that other Inſinuation that you ſhould learn from me, *That he that ſweareth muſt aſcend by treading upon him that feareth an Oath*, you came too late to learn it out of my Book: If it had been there, the ſwearing to the Covenant taught that Leſſon perfectly, how to aſcend into their places that feared that unlawful Oath. Our lawful Subſcriptions injure no Man. Pray where did you learn to load the Conforming Miniſtry with a

Charge of Perjury, Perfidiouſneſs, and Perſecution, Proud, contending who ſhall be greateſt, and covenanting never in certain Points to obey Chriſt againſt the World and the Fleſh, as you too plainly inſinuate *p.* 74. of *Sacr. Deſertion.*

Mr. Baxter. *I am in ſome doubt, leſt you have wronged our Prelacy, by ſo openly proclaiming the enmity of ſo great a Man as* Hales *againſt them, and by inticing Men by your noiſe to read his Book, which you contradict: which if they do, I doubt that your Confutation will not ſave them from the light.*

Anſw. I am out of doubt why Mr. *Hales* is accounted ſo great a Man with you, (*viz.*) for oppoſing our Prelacy; and I perceive you practice the ſame way of growing popular. But the reading that Book of mine, (which if it have not anſwered Mr. *Hales*'s Arguments, yet ſhews how he confuted them himſelf, when in his later days he was perfectly reconciled to that Sacred Function, and died as a Martyr in its Communion) cannot prejudice our Prelacy). He had indeed a fit of diſtempered Zeal, as other good Men may, but it was not hectical and inveterate: He had a ſtrong Brain and ſound Vitals, which reſtored him to a better Judgment; and that is all the hurt I wiſh you. But I pray Sir, when you ſay, That I defend Schiſm; had not you ſuch a Notion as Mr. *Hales*, That the Biſhops, who endeavour Conformity, are Schiſmatical.

I

I find *p.* 29. of your *Sacril. Deſertion*, that you call them the Sect of the Dioceſan Prelates; and Schiſm in Fact, muſt lye on them, or you, and thoſe of your Perſwaſion; who declare, *That upon juſt Reaſons you diſſent from the Eccleſiaſtical Hierarchy or Prelacy diſclaimed in Covenant, as it was ſtated and exerciſed in theſe Kingdoms*, p. 5. of your firſt Paper to the King. But your juſt Reaſons for ſo doing are ſtill in the dark. Reaſons indeed you ſuggeſt, as well againſt the *Primitive Biſhops*, in your *Hiſtory of Biſhops* throughout, as againſt *our Prelacy*: But oh! with what Injuſtice, with how much Malice are they inſinuated! The *Grotian* Biſhops (as you term them) were deſtructive of Religion, animating the haters of Piety, and driving Multitudes out of the Land, the moſt of them, twenty for one, being Conformiſts, *Preface to Grotian Religion.* So that it was ſafer in all places that ever you knew, for Men to live in conſtant Swearing, Curſing, and Drunkenneſs, than to inſtruct a Man's Family on the Lord's Day, *p.* 109. And again, *p.* 113, 114. Should one of you (*i. e.*) of the Epiſcopal Clergy, pretend to be the Biſhop of a Dioceſs, you would have a ſmall Clergy, and none of the beſt; and the People in moſt of the Pariſhes, that are moſt ignorant, drunken, prophane, and unruly, with ſome civil Perſons of your mind, who would be inconſiderable in the Croud of the ungodly: for the cauſe of their Love to E-

piſcopacy, is, becauſe it was a ſhadow, if not a ſhelter, to the Prophane heretofore; ſo that the Prelatical Church would be in the common account, near kin to an Ale-houſe or Tavern, to ſay no worſe. Thus have you poured out as much Contempt upon that Sacred Order, as ſo ſlender a Veſſel could hold. But none of this Filth will ſtick upon it, with thoſe that can remember, The Agreement that was in the Worſhip of God, the ſolemn Sanctification of the Sabbaths, the diſcountenancing and puniſhing of Vice, the Love and Charity among Neighbours, which I my ſelf do yet remember in this City, where I had my Education under that happy Government, before our late unhappy Wars; all which Bleſſings we do now again in ſome good meaſure enjoy. And if this be the way which you call Schiſm, I do reſolve, by the Grace of God, living and dying, ſo to worſhip the God of my Fathers; nor will any but a Romaniſt account me a Schiſmatick for ſo doing.

Mr. Baxter. *But the reaſon of troubling you with theſe Lines, is only to crave ſome ſatisfaction about two or three Matters of Fact in your Book, which would ſeem ſtrange to me, did I not find ſuch things too common in Invectives againſt the ſilenced Miniſters; and did I not know, that it is part of Satan's work, to perſwade the World that no Hiſtory hath any certainty of Truth, that ſo Sacred Hiſtory may be diſadvantaged.*

Anſw.

Anſw. How ſtrange ſoever the Matters of Fact may ſeem to you, I doubt not but they will appear to be true to the indifferent Reader: but that I have acted the part of Satan, to perſwade the World that no Hiſtory is true, that ſo I might diſadvantage Sacred Hiſtory, is moſt untrue: Nor have you (becauſe you could not) mentioned any Inſtance that might colour it. But thus you dealt with Dr. *Pierce*, who having truly quoted and applied a Paſſage of Biſhop *Bancroft*'s in his *Appendix* to you, *p.* 254. you told him, *That he could not have uttered more falſhood if the Devil had dictated to him.* That my Book is an Invective againſt ſilenced Miniſters, is already anſwered: That I am guilty of depraving Eccleſiaſtical or Sacred Hiſtory, needs no anſwer, becauſe there is no Charge. How notoriouſly you are guilty of this Crime, I ſhall ſhew in an inſtance or two, beſides that wherein you abuſe the Primitive Biſhops; of which hereafter. *Shew me*, ſaith Mr. *Baxter*, *in Scripture or Hiſtory, that either there was ever* de facto, *or ought to be* de jure, *ſuch a thing in the World as the Papiſts call the Church, and I profeſs I will immediately turn Papiſt.*

Anſw. This was ſome ground for them that then ſaid you were one, to think ſo of you: For what is more plain in Church Hiſtory, than that there was *de facto* ſuch a Church, as the Papiſts call the Church of *Rome*, one thouſand years together, and which hath been

acknowledged by Learned Men of your Perſwaſion; and if we may not believe this, how ſhall we believe there was any Church at all at *Rome* in St. *Paul*'s days. But Mr. *Baxter* cannot be perſwaded that there is any ſuch thing as the Church of *England*, p. 35. of his *Sacr. Deſertion.* I would give him all the Money in my Purſe, to make me underſtand what the Church of *England* is, and yet our Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtories will ſhew that we have had the face and form of a Church among us before the days of the Conquerour. The Presbyterians did acknowledge the Church of *Rome* to be a true Church, *Divine Right*, p. 265. Will not you allow ſo much to the Church of *England?* The old Non-conformiſts generally granted it: And *Ruthband* ſays all the Reformed Churches acknowledge the Church of *England* to be their Siſter. And you ſay, *p.* 263, 264. That almoſt all the Chriſtian World is worſe than it.——And if we deny Communion with ſuch a Church, there hath been no Church to Communicate with theſe Thouſand years. We are more beholding to Mr. *John Goodwin*, who ſays, *p.* 26. of his *Sion Colledge viſited*, That there was more of the Truth and Power of Godlineſs in the Church of *England*, under the Prelatical Government, than in all the Reformed Churches beſide. And if Mr. *Hickman* ſay true, you have had Communion with the Church of *England* in all its Ordinances. It is then a Church, and a true Church. The

The ſecond Inſtance is concerning Kneeling; for though you cannot be ignorant that our Saviour did kneel at his Prayers, and do confeſs that kneeling at Prayers was in uſe in the Apoſtles time, *p.* 110. of *Grand Debate*; and that it hath been practiſed in the Univerſal Church, ever ſince that Kings were its Nurſing Fathers, yet from an occaſional and temporary Conſtitution of the Church, reſtrained to the Lord's days throughout the Year, and to Week days only between *Eaſter* and *Whitſontide*, and applied only to the duty of Prayer, not receiving of the Lord's Supper, (which you make different Actions, and ſay we are not to be in the Act of Praying, when we are in the Act of Receiving) from this temporary limited Order which they thought fit to continue only till the People were confirmed in the belief of the Reſurrection, you tell your *Kidderminſters*, That it is againſt the Canons of the General Councils, and many hundred years Practice of the Church, to kneel in the Act of Receiving on the Lord's day. Whereas you might with more probability have applied it againſt kneeling at Prayers, if there be now any obligation in that Conſtitution; and it holds much more againſt ſitting, which was never practiſed in the Primitive Church, though you plead moſtly for it. And you add, *All knew that my judgment ever was for the lawfulneſs of kneeling at the Sacrament*, Defence of Brinc. p. 34. And ſo you told

told the Epiſcopal Party, *That you would rather kneel than diſturb the Peace of the Church, or be deprived of its Communion.* Whereby, as the Biſhop of *Worceſter* inferred, you confeſs that kneeling at the Sacrament is not ſinful; and that not to kneel, when required, is to diſturb the Peace of the Church; and that the impoſing it upon penalty of being deprived of the Communion, is an effectual means to make thoſe that otherwiſe would not kneel, to conform to it; and conſequently the impoſing it is not unlawful. But Mr. *Baxter* ſays in his *Chriſtian Directory*, Part 2. p. 111. Q. 3. Sect. 40. ſays, *For kneeling, I never heard any thing yet to prove it unlawful; if there be any thing, it muſt be either ſome word of God, or the nature of the Ordinance, which is ſuppoſed to be contradicted. But (1.) there is no word of God for any geſture, nor againſt any. Chriſt's Example can never be proved to oblige us more in this, than in many other Circumſtances that are confeſt not obligatory; as, that he delivered but to Miniſters; and but to a Family; to Twelve; and after Supper; on a Thurſday night; and in an upper Room,* &c. *And his geſture was not ſuch a ſitting as ours. And (2ly.) for the nature of the Ordinance, it is mixt. And if it be lawful to take a Pardon from the King upon our knees, I know not what can make it unlawful to take a ſealed Pardon from Chriſt (by his Ambaſſador) upon our knees.* Now if you knew not what might make it unlawful to receive the

the Sacrament kneeling, when you wrote your *Chriſtian Directory*, which was long after your Diſputation with the Biſhops at the *Savoy*, you did not very adviſedly urge with ſo much heat, That the requiring Communicants to receive it kneeling under ſuch Penalties, was a ſinful impoſition. What? to receive a pardon from Chriſt upon our knees, this could not be ſinful in the Receiver, nor could it be ſinful in the Impoſer: For there being nothing ſaid by our Saviour concerning the Geſture, he hath left that to the determination of the Church. And if the Church may determine of the place and time of Publick Worſhip, becauſe they are not determined by Chriſt, why may it not determine of particular Geſtures not determined by him? And I am glad, that on ſecond thoughts, you cannot find what may make it unlawful: For, as you ſay, it would be intolerable in a Child or Servant, who when his Parent or Maſter bids him do a thing lawful or indifferent, or elſe he would beat him; ſhould reply, Sir, I could have done the thing if you had not commanded it, but your Command renders it unlawful to me. I have ſaid ſo much of this, which you account one of the moſt tremendous ſins in our Conformity, as by your ſingling it out for the Subject of your Diſpute which you managed at the *Savoy* with ſo much heat and importunity it doth appear.

This

This concerning Kneeling, *&c.* is the third of thoſe ten Particulars which are mentioned by Mr. *Baxter*, p. 131, 132, 133. and there he ſays that in their Exceptions and Reply, we have an account of what they take to be unlawful and inconvenient: 1. The Sign of the Croſs. 2. The Surplice. 3. Kneeling at the Sacrament. 4. Pronouncing that Infants baptized are Regenerate. 5. Putting the Sacred Elements into the hands of Communicants. 6. The Abſolution at the Sacrament. 7. Giving thanks for all that are buried. 8. Subſcription to the Book of Common Prayer. 9. Not permitted to uſe Extemporary Prayers. 10. The Oath to the Biſhops. Theſe he judgeth contrary to the Word of God. — But until Mr. *Baxter*, or ſome other Nonformiſt, ſhall confute the Arguments of the *London* Divines, and others that aſſert the Lawfulneſs of theſe things, we have no reaſon to think of Alterations.

The Reaſon of your writing to me, you ſay, is to crave Satisfaction about two or three Matters of Fact in my Book. — One is in theſe words, *p.* 101. *When they had in the grand Debate given in their Objections to the Liturgy, ſome of the Brotherhood had prepared another Form; but a great part of their Brethren objected many things againſt that, and never as yet did (as I hear of) agree upon any other, nor I think ever will.* And, as if I had not ſignified plainly enough that I meant the grand Debate at the

Savoy,

Savoy, you queſtion whether I meant the *Weſtminſter* Aſſembly; when you your ſelf ſay that it was the Directory which they drew up; and that none was yet vain enough to pretend that they drew up another Liturgy.

Anſw. Mr. *Baxter* was then very vain to conjecture that I meant what was done by the *Weſtminſter Aſſembly*; for, as he adds, it muſt needs be meant of the later, of which this is paſt denial.

Mr. *Baxter. That the King's Commiſſion authorized us to make ſome Additional Forms.* (And adds what Archbiſhop *Sheldon* propounded, which concerns not me).

Anſw. Inſtead of conforming to the King's Commiſſion, Mr. *Baxter* ſays, that ſome of them drew up their Exceptions againſt the Liturgy, and appointed him to draw up Additional Forms. *But I*, ſays he, *drew up a Liturgy which* (the Prayer for the King being made ſhorter by Dr. *Wallis*) *was agreed to without one diſſenting Vote.* I am glad to hear that all the Non-conforming Party did agree to a Liturgy, having ſo long acted according to the Directory. And if they could agree to ſuch a Liturgy, as Mr. *Baxter* ſays, *muſt be very imperfect, being done in neceſſary haſte in eight days*, I wonder that they could not be reconciled to that Liturgy which was ſo maturely drawn up by our firſt Reformers, Learned Biſhops, and Holy Martyrs, which had endured many a Trial, and obtained the Approbation

bation of the other parts of the Reform'd Churches, and had been practiſed by many of thoſe that then oppoſed it; and for their ſatisfaction was corrected in many things whereat they took offence. Beſides, the King's Commiſſion authorized them (if occaſion ſhould be) to make ſuch reaſonable and neceſſary Alterations, Corrections and Amendments, as ſhould be by both Parties agreed to be needful to give Satisfaction to tender Conſciences, *&c.* But avoiding, as much as might be, all unneceſſary Alterations of Forms and Liturgy wherewith the People are already acquainted, and have ſo long received in the Church of *England.* And when Dr. *Reignolds* thought they ſhould be blamed for offering a whole Liturgy, inſtead of Additional Forms, I thought I might rationally infer, that, as Dr. *Reignolds* obſerved, they might juſtly be blamed for offering another Liturgy ſo directly oppoſite to the intention of the King's Commiſſion. And I wonder how Mr. *Baxter* could ſay this work (*viz.*) a new Liturgy, was extorted from them, when it was forbidden by the King. Or how there was ſuch a full Concord, as Mr. *Baxter* ſpeaks of, when the Prayer for the King contained ſome things fit to be omitted; and when Dr. *Pearſon* and others wrote, that there was no neceſſity of Reforming the Church, either in Doctrine, Diſcipline, or Worſhip; and when Mr. *Baxter* ſays it muſt needs be very imperfect? I confeſs that the diſſenting

Party

Party might agree to your Liturgy ſo, as to think it an imperfect haſty Work, free from Hereſie, Blaſphemy, or Treaſon; but not under your Notion, as fit to rival or thruſt out the Publick Liturgy; the Commiſſioners could not agree on thoſe terms, ſeeing, as they obſerved, it left Men at liberty to uſe it as a Directory, by ſaying *thus*, as in the ſeveral Collects, or *to this purpoſe*, in a Prayer of their own conception; for you tell them, *it was not your work to impoſe*; and what uniformity in Worſhip could be expected, if ſome ſhould uſe the Forms in the Liturgy, and others be left at liberty to uſe your Forms, or their own Conceptions? Mr. *Calvin* commended a Liturgy and Forms of Prayer, to prevent the Inconveniencies which might be occaſioned by Extempory Effuſions. And your Brethren in their *Morning Lectures*, affirm *p.* 58. *That the heart may be eaſily deceived in Inlargements in Prayer, Opinion of the Perſon, Taking Expreſſions, Popular Applauſe, Flouriſhing Novelties and Notions, Satanical Illuſions, Common and Ordinary Inſpirations, ſuch as are granted to Reprobates. All, or any of which, may make the heart dance in a duty, and yet it's poſſible, nay probable, the heart may dance after the Devil's Pipe.*

In the Preface to your Liturgy, *p.* 23. you would have your own Forms inſerted into the ſeveral places of the Liturgy to which they do belong, and left to the Miniſters choice to uſe

uſe the one or other. But firſt, this would aggravate that Grievance which you complain of, that the Liturgy is already too long. But ſecondly, this would be to raiſe Altar againſt Altar, and maintain two diſtinct Forms of Worſhip. And you doubted not but your correct *Nepenthes*, as you term your Liturgy, would be better reliſhed by young Prelates than a Doſe of *Opium*, to which you compare the Liturgy; though a ſober uſe of *Opium* may be more uſeful to fix the Spirits, which ſo large a draught of your *Nepenthes* may make volatile and giddy.

Mr. Baxter. *I was eſpecially deſirous to have heard their Exceptions againſt our Liturgy and urged ſome of them* (i.e.) the Biſhops, *to it, and could never get a word of Anſwer or Exception.*

Anſw. Roger L'Eſtrange in his *Relapſe Apoſtate* ſays in the Introduction, *That though your Liturgy was addreſſed to the Biſhops, yet from them, above all the reſt, it was with more care concealed*—*That it was delivered to the Printer by Mr.* Baxter, *or his order, and being wrought off, this* Nepenthes *was barrelled up, and diſperſed through the Nation without the knowledge of the Biſhops.*

But ſuppoſing it had been delivered to them, it was not their work to view or correct your Liturgy, but that which the King in his Commiſſion recommended to them: it was their duty to reject yours in groſs, without Reflecti-

ons

ons on the Particulars. You add, *Nor had we one Objection from any other.* Yet I ſaw a Treatiſe by a very learned hand about that time, called, *The grand Debate in caſe of Prayer reſumed*; proving that thoſe Free Prayers which you ſo earneſtly contended for, had no advantage above the preſcribed Liturgy; and by that Perſon, and many other Writers, there was not one Objection made which was not anſwered and confuted. I deſire therefore ſuch Readers as do ſtill adhere to Mr. *Baxter*'s Arguments againſt the Common Prayer, to do themſelves ſo much right, as to peruſe what Dr. *Comber* hath written concerning the Method obſerved in the ſeveral parts of Devotion throughout the Liturgy, againſt the diſorder of it objected by Mr. *Baxter*; and the ſeveral Caſes of the *London* Divines againſt all Mr. *Baxter*'s, or any other Objectors, concerning the Unlawfulneſs of any thing therein preſcribed. And ſeeing in the Preface of his Majeſty's Commiſſion, he did expreſs his Eſteem of the Liturgy, and authorized the Commiſſioners to make ſuch reaſonable and neceſſary Alterations as by and between them ſhould be agreed upon, avoiding as much as might be all unneceſſary Abbreviations of Form and Liturgy; not only the King had been diſobeyed, but the moſt pious Members of the Church might juſtly be offended, if any of the Commiſſioners ſhould have condeſcended to ſuch Alterations as were inſiſted on, which would have amounted to

a confeſſion that the Liturgy was a heavy burden to tender Conſciences, a juſt cauſe of Schiſm, a Superſtitious Uſage, *&c.* upon which pretences the Alterations were deſired.

But firſt, It is not true that there was a full Concord as to your Liturgy; for the Reader may obſerve, that the King's Commiſſion was granted to about forty Perſons to review the Liturgy, and to make ſuch reaſonable and neceſſary Alterations and Amendments, as by and between the ſaid Commiſſioners ſhould be agreed upon to be needful and expedient, avoiding as much as might be all unneceſſary Abbreviations of the Form and Liturgy wherewith the People are altogether acquainted, and have ſo long received in the Ch. of *England*; can any Man believe there was a full Concord (I will not ſay of all the Commiſſioners) to Mr. *Baxter*'s new Liturgy, but among thoſe of the Diſſenters, that there ſhould be a new Liturgy preſented, when the Commiſſion confined them to make only ſome neceſſary Alterations and Amendments of the old, expreſly cautioning them to avoid, as much as might be, all unneceſſary Abbreviations of the Form and Liturgy for the Reaſons therein alledged: For though Mr. *Baxter* glorieth in this Exploit of drawing up a new Liturgy in eight days, yet he acknowledgeth it was very imperfect, and that Dr. *Reignolds* ſaid they ſhould be blamed for it: and the Reaſon of the thing, as well as the

the Example of Dr. *Reignolds*, was ſufficient to convince all ſuch as had any ſenſe of their Duty, or hope of an Agreement. We find alſo (though Mr. *Baxter* intimates the contrary) that there was a particular Exception againſt the Prayer which he had made for the King, which was to be altered by Dr. *Wallis*; his Rubrick alſo was diſliked by them, as he confeſſeth. Beſides, it is certain that a great part of the diſſenting Brethren had ſometime before conformed to the old Liturgy; not only Dr. *Reignolds* and Mr. *Baxter* himſelf, but Dr. *Conant*, *Spurſtow*, *Wallis*, *Manton*, and generally all the reſt; and the Amendments and Alterations which were made, being about Six hundred, were thought ſo reaſonable and ſatisfactory, that divers who had diſſented, did conform to it, notwithſtanding that by reaſon of ſome other Subſcriptions and Declarations, their Conformity was made more difficult, as did Dr. *Reignolds*, Dr. *Gauden*, Dr. *Conant*, Dr. *Wallis*, and Dr. *Lightfoot*, &c. Where then was this full Concord and no Exceptions? when they all agreed to a Liturgy; and Mr. *Baxter*'s Model was a draught of *Nepenthe*, compounded of unknown Ingredients, as every one ſhould fancy. And this I hope may be a competent help to make Mr. *Baxter* diſcern that the Report that I made (*viz.*) that ſome of the Brotherhood had prepared another Form; but ſome of them objected many things againſt that, and never as yet (that I

heard) did agree upon any other, and I think never will, is a true Report, and ſuch as becomes a Miniſter of Truth.

Mr. Baxter. *But I well know it is a part of Satan's work to perſwade the World that no Hiſtory hath any certainty of Truth, that ſo Sacred Hiſtory may be diſadvantaged.*

Anſw. If it be Satan's work falſly to relate Matters of Fact recorded in Hiſtory; and if it tends to ſo impious a Deſign as to diſadvantage the Credit of Sacred Hiſtory; I doubt not to make it appear in two inſtances, *viz.* in that Hiſtorical Relation which Mr. *Baxter* hath given concerning Biſhops, and in that of the beginning of our deteſtible Civil War, of which I ſhall take occaſion to ſpeak, on two Aſſertions of Mr. *Baxter* in this Letter; the one is where he affirms, *That of all things that ever befel the Chriſtian Church, he ſcarce knew any thing comparable in ſhame and miſchievous effects, to the horrid Perfidiouſneſs, Contention, Schiſm and Pride of Biſhops.* The ſecond is, *That it was an Epiſcopal Parliament (forty or an hundred to one) that began the War againſt the King.* On theſe two Aſſertions of Mr. *Baxter*, I ſay, I ſhall make it evident, that none hath done more to diſadvantage the credit of Sacred Hiſtory than Mr. *Baxter* hath done in the falſe Relation of other Hiſtories, be a ready way to it.

Mr. Baxter. *Another paſſage is* p. 293. (which being imperfectly related by Mr. *Baxter*, I ſhall give

give it the Reader in full) *viz.* (*Miniſterial Conformity being ſubmitted to by many of the Aſſembly of Divines, and no ſinful act required to make it unlawful, which if there had been, they, or ſome others, ought to have diſcovered it, and then I doubt not, it would by Authority have been taken away; but that being not done*) *the Miniſters ought to conform by the ſame Rules as the People ought; which is granted by Propoſition the fourth, and confirmed by Mr.* Baxter's *practice in receiving the Sacrament.*

Anſw. Mr. *Baxter* repeats only ſo much as is within the Parentheſis, on which he runs out into ſix grand Diviſions, and under them into two, or three, and ſo under one into five Sub-diviſions: The whole may be comprehended in theſe two; 1. That the Sinfulneſs of Conformity hath been already proved: And then 2dly, That we require impoſſibilities of them, becauſe they have not the liberty of the Preſs. [Though the Liberty of the Pulpit be as much denied them, yet it is no impoſſibility to uſe that.] But I ſhall for the Reader's ſatisfaction conſider the Particulars.

Mr. Baxter. *Do you not know what abundance of old have thought they diſcovered the ſinfulneſs of Conformity,* (Bradſhaw, Nicols, Ames, Parker, Cartwright, *&c.*) *and ſome of late againſt our Conformity,* Cawdry, Hickman, *and others, yet unanſwered.*

Anſw. I know what the moſt of thoſe you

name have written. And I know that what you ſay they thought to be ſins, have by *Whitgift*, *Bancroft*, *Hooker*, *Moreton*, *Burgeſs* and *Sprint* been proved to be the Non-conformiſts duties. And as to the new Conformity, it hath by theſe Doctors, *Faukner*, *Durel*, *Fulwood*, proved to be lawful; and alſo by the Lay-Conformity of all the old Non-conformiſts, as well as by Mr. *Baxter* to be lawful.

Mr. Baxter. *And is this your dry Denial a rational Confutation?*

Anſw. A Confutation! of what? No rational Man would undertake a Confutation, of what others only thought, (and *Idem eſt non eſſe & non apparere*,) had the Long Parliament acted rationally when they armed themſelves, if they had no other Enemy to fight againſt, but thoſe falſe Reports of German Troops and Armies under ground, and Deſigns to blow up the *Thames*, which were ſometime talked of? This were like *Don Quixot*, to fight with Windmils and Fancies of their own inventions; bring down your Objections from the Clouds, fix them ſomewhere that we may behold them, and try if they be formidable *Gorgons*, as can at ſight transform the Conformiſts into ſuch heinous Sinners, a dry Denial is enough to confute the Man in the Moon. I will not ſay as you did concerning the Church of *England*, that I would give all the Money in my Purſe to know what it is; but, as *Cæſar* ſaid of the ancient

cient *Britains*, who dwelt in Woods and Faſtneſſes, That it is leſs difficult to overcome them than to find them out; and when they ſhall appear, I have ſo much confidence in the good Nature of Mr. *Baxter*, that I may borrow Weapons enough out of his Magazine to turn them all into Duſt; though he thinks that it is no ſmall number of ſins ſo heinous, that are impoſed by Conformity, that he dares not ſo much as name them, leſt he ſhould diſpleaſe and render the Conformiſts ſuch heinous ſinners. And *p.* 31. of *Sacr. Deſertion*, *That (Conformity) is a compoſition of ſuch heinous Crimes as I forbear to name, for fear of ſeeming to be an Accuſer of others, and to be unpeaceable.* This is as if he had told his Superiours to their Faces, That they were a company of ungodly Perſons and cruel Perſecutors, that their Sins were great for number, and heinous in their nature. But I will not name any particular, for fear of Diſpleaſing, or being thought your Accuſer and Unpeaceable.

In ſuch a caſe I think it not unreaſonable if the Superiours had told Mr. *Baxter* that he ought to do it. But Mr. *Baxter* will excuſe himſelf thus:

Mr. Baxter. *That Men ought not to be blamed for not doing Impoſſibilities.*

Anſw. If the thing were impoſſible to be done, it is very blameable to pretend or attempt the doing of it. But wherein lyeth the impoſſibility? 1. You ſay, *The Law forbids it.*

2. You are *ipso facto Excommunicate.* 3. *Your Governours are againſt it.* 4. *It would drive you to Jails and Ruine?* 5. *We have begg'd leave of Parliament Men to publiſh the Caſe and Reaſons of your diſſent.* But, good Sir, is not your preaching in Conventicles forbidden by the ſame Law under the like Penalties? and yet thoſe tearing Engines, as you call them, do not make you forbear printing or preaching; nor do you want the liberty of the Preſs for divulging Seditious Pamphlets, and railing againſt Biſhops and Conformity. The impoſſibility therefore doth not lye in theſe External Circumſtances, but in the nature of the thing. There is no ſinfulneſs in what is required in Conformity, and therefore it is impoſſible for you to ſhew it. You tell us indeed that you have by your writing diſcovered the ſinfulneſs of the old Conformity, and refer us to your publick Reply and Petition againſt it; and that ſome Pamphlets, ſuch as *Cawdrys*, *Hickmans*, &c. have crept out: but you confeſs nothing that is full and ſatisfactory, no not in any of Mr. *Baxter's* Writings; though he talks in general, That in our Liturgy there are ſome things that ſeem to be corrupt, and carry a repugnancy to the Rule of the Goſpel, *p.* 11. of his *Savoy* Papers, where he ſpends 148 Pages in Exceptions againſt the Liturgy; which the Biſhops anſwer in theſe few words, *p.* 45. *The Church hath been careful to put nothing into the Liturgy but what is evidently the Word of God,*

God, or hath been generally received in the Catholick Church; and if the contrary can be proved, we wiſh it out of the Liturgy. And this may anſwer that Enquiry of

Mr. Baxter. *Which way got you ſo ſtrong a faith, as to be paſt doubt, that did we diſcover any ſinfulneſs, it would by Authority be taken away. Make this true, and you ſhall have the honour of being the greateſt healer of our breaches that ever roſe in the days of my remembrance. But if this be not true----*

Anſw. The ſtrength of my Faith is built on the ground of my Charity, which teacheth me to hope and believe all good things of my Superiours, eſpecially until I am aſſured of the contrary, and when they have made ſuch good Laws, in Church and State, as many thouſands of good Chriſtians of tender Conſciences, do ſubmit to, and they themſelves devoutly practice. I cannot think they would eſtabliſh any known iniquity by Law, after their Profeſſion which you have ſeen under their own hands; that if there were any ſuch thing could be proved, as they had reaſon and judgment to diſcern it, ſo it was in their power to procure the amendment, and they wiſhed it out. So that whatever your Faith be to believe there are ſuch heinous ſins in Conformity, I hope my Charity is agreeable to the Chriſtian Faith, that if any ſuch thing had appeared, it would have been taken away.

Mr. Baxter. *But I ſhall alledge your Authority*

when we are blamed for diſcovering the ſinfulneſs of Conformity.

Anſw. You have a greater Authority than mine, the Law of God; *Lev.*19.17.*Thou ſhalt in any wiſe rebuke thy Brother, and not ſuffer ſin to be upon him.* And of St.*Paul*,Eph.5.11.*Have no fellowſhip with the unfruitful works of darkneſs, but rather reprove them.* Therefore, I ſay again, you ought to have done it, and to be plain, I ſee no reaſon why you have not done it,but becauſe it is impoſſible to be done; you find all the Cavils which you have yet uſed to be inſufficient, and would ſeem to reſerve more cogent ones to keep up the Courage of your Party,and amuze their Conſciences with Noiſe and Clamour, Fears and Jealouſies, and ſo perpetuate the Schiſm. I cannot paſs by one odious Reflection on our Governours, *viz.*

*Mr.*Baxter. *That near Two thouſand Miniſters have been near ſixteen Years ejected and ſilenced, and many years impriſoned and killed, and the People of the Land divided and diſtracted by the tearing Engines.*

Anſw. Such Language ill becomes Mr. *Baxter*,who,notwithſtanding many Provocations, hath taſted ſo much of the Clemency of our Governours. Had you lived in the *Marian* days under *Bonner*,you durſt not have ſaid ſo much. But who were thoſe Two thouſand? In your Letter to Mr. *Bagſhaw* you ſpeak but of about Eighteen hundred, and you are not wont to mince the matter: A great number of them

them had poſſeſſed themſelves of other Mens Rights, and it was an Act of Juſtice to reſtore the Owners to their Rights. Mr. *Baxter*, I hear, was he that invaded *Kidderminſter*, the Property of one Mr. *Dance*, whom he confeſt to be a Man of an unblameable Life; but not thought fit for ſo great a Congregation, much more to have any Reſtitution made for all that was taken from him. As for thoſe that had lawful Titles, ſome of them were altogether unqualified, as to Learning or good Lives; the reſt ejected themſelves for not obeying the Laws. There were no tearing Engines made uſe of. The lawleſs Practiſes of the Presbyterians, under the Long Parliament, deſerved that name: whenas Mr. *White* their Centuriſt writes, *There were about Eighteen thouſand Miniſters, all lawful Miniſters, illegally ejected, both Univerſities deprived of their Scholars, who were driven to great Neceſſities, not ſuffered to teach Schools, no not in a Gentleman's Houſe for the Education of their Children, twelve Biſhops clapt into the* Tower *at once, the reſt Sequeſtred, without any Proviſion or Reſpect to their Age, Learning or Piety.* And I need not prove it to Mr. *Baxter*, who knows the truth of what I ſay, That that one Engine of the Scottiſh Covenant deſtroyed more in one year, both Laity and Clergy, than all the tearing Engines did ever ſince they were formed into Laws.

Mr. Baxter. *The third paſſage is* p. 69, 70. which though Mr. *Baxter* hath not, I ſhall here tranſcribe,

tranſcribe, and it may ſerve to Anſwer Mr. *Baxter*'s Queſtion; *Can you name*, ſays he, *one Presbyter for very many Biſhops, that have been the Heads or Fomenters of Hereſie, Schiſm or Rebellion? and that (for his part) he knows nothing comparable in ſhame and miſchievous effects to the horrid Perfidiouſneſs, Contention, Schiſm, and Pride of Biſhops.* In oppoſition to this I ſaid in the place quoted, *That* Novatus *and* Novatian, Aerius *and* Arius, Donatus *and his Fellow Presbyters, who aſſumed the Epiſcopal Power to themſelves, had ſhed more Blood and committed more Outrages than were done under any inſtance of Epiſcopal Ambition; and that our late Schiſm at home, and the Wounds made by it are yet ſo open, that there needs no Rhetorick but our own Experience to teach us, that the little Finger of the Presbyterians is heavier than the Epiſcopal Loyns.* Let any Man ſum up together the Miſchiefs occaſioned by the Avarice and Ambition of Biſhops for One hundred Years together in this our Nation, and I dare ingage to demonſtrate that for Wickedneſs in contriving, for Malice and Cruelty in Executing, for Pride and Arrogance in Uſurping, in Obſtinacy and Implacableneſs in endeavouring to perpetuate unparallel'd Confuſions. Though ſome Biſhops had done amiſs, yet our Preſbyterians have exceeded them all: For let me be informed, Whether for a *Juncto* of Preſbyters, who had often ſworn Fidelity to their Prince, and Obedience to their lawful Ordinaries

naries, to abrogate theſe Sacred Obligations, and by dethroning one incomparable Prince, to ſet up many Tyrants, and by covenanting againſt one Biſhop in a Dioceſs, to erect Two or Three hundred, and expoſe all the Clergy, that would not partake with them in their ſins, to contempt and miſery, be not an unparallel Miſchief; Mr. *Hales* himſelf, whom Mr. *Baxter* ſo magnifies for his Book of Schiſm, found their tender Mercies to be cruel, whom they deprived of that plentiful Eſtate which he enjoyed under the Epiſcopal Government, being reduced to that Extremity, that he was forced to ſell his Books to ſupply his Neceſſities. Let me be informed, I pray you, whether this be not more than any Biſhop did, or could be guilty of? Such Indignities, Perjuries, Uſurpations and Cruelties as theſe Men have acted againſt their juſt, lawful, and excellent Governours in Church and State, I believe have not been acted ſince *Judas* betrayed his Maſter.

Mr. Baxter. *Theſe are great things to be ſpoken ſo boldly*, ſaith Mr. *Baxter.*

Anſw. And they were bolder Men that acted them, ſay I. But I am at a loſs what to ſay of them who were the firſt Incendiaries, the Boutefews, that blew up the Coals, and ſcattered ſuch Wild-fire through the Nation, as ran through every City, Town, and Village in the Nation; let Mr. *Baxter* ſpeak his own thoughts of ſuch: They may juſtly fear of being Fire-brands in Hell, for their being Fire-brands on Earth.

The

The paſſage which Mr. *Baxter* thought not fit to recite, led me to conſider what Miſchief had been occaſioned by the Ambition of Factious Presbyters; ſuch as *Novatus* and *Novatian*, *Aerius* and *Arius*, *Donatus* and his Followers of old, and by a *Junto* of Presbyterians in our own days: and he confeſſeth that *Arius* and *Aerius* were not Biſhops; and he might have ſaid it of *Novatus* and *Novatian*, *Donatus* and his Fellows, that they were not Biſhops, but ſeekers of Biſhopricks, and divided becauſe they could not obtain them. *Surely*, ſays Mr. *Baxter*, *they were Prelatical Presbyters:* And concludes thus, *I will never, while I breathe, truſt a Presbyter that ſets himſelf to get Preferment, no more than I will truſt a*——he might have ſaid, as King *James* did a Highland or Border Robber.

I doubt not but the Reader will obſerve with me what a pitiful ſhift Mr. *Baxter* was put to, when he ſays, *That if* Arius *or* Novatus, Aerius *and* Donatus, (*which*, he ſays, *are all the Presbyters that I name*, though I had named *Novatus* and *Novatian*, and could have mentioned many more, if an Anſwer to a Letter would have permitted it) *were the beginners of any Schiſm*, *many hundred Biſhops were the promoters of them all*; which is as much as if he had ſaid, That when theſe Presbyters had ſupplanted their Biſhops, and aſſumed both the Name and Authority of Biſhops to themſelves, then thoſe Biſhops and their Succeſſors promoted and fomented the Schiſms and Hereſies which

which the firſt Inventers had broached againſt thoſe Orthodox and Legal Biſhops with all manner of violence and cruelty. And this is that fallacy that runs through Mr. *Baxter*'s whole Hiſtory of Epiſcopacy, wherein all the Tumults and Confuſions, which the Off-ſpring of thoſe ambitious Presbyters had acted, is by him imputed to Biſhops. Whereas in truth they were not otherwiſe Biſhops than of their own making; and having uſurped that title, did with force and bloodſhed defend their ſeveral Schiſms and Hereſies, to the great moleſtation and diſturbance of the true Biſhops. I ſhall make this appear in what was tranſacted here at home: Thus we had an order of Orthodox and Learned Biſhops as ever was in the Church from the Reformation, but were always maligned by the Presbyters: In the Year 1640. this malignity vented it ſelf. Concerning other Particulars, as that of the *Tria Capitula* and *Philippicus*, mentioned by Mr. *Baxter* under this Head, I refer the Reader to the former Treatiſe for an anſwer.

The *Smectymnians* write ſcurrilous Pamphlets againſt them; the *London* Rabble are ſtirred up to Petition againſt them; Mr. *Baxter* himſelf having in *Anno* 1640. conceived a diſlike of them, began to write his *Hiſtory of Biſhops*, to repreſent them as the Lords of Miſrule; twelve Biſhops are ſent to the *Tower*, the Archbiſhop beheaded, the reſt ſequeſtred, the Nation drawn into a Covenant againſt them, their

their Revenues imployed to maintain a War againſt the King, and to gratifie ſuch Presbyters as had defamed and oppoſed them. Under thoſe grew up the ſeveral Factions of Independents, Anabaptiſts, Quakers, and a Fanatical Army that ſet the whole Nation into a Flame, that continued to devour for 20 years together. Now ſuppoſe the Supream Power (*i.e.*) the Parliament, as Mr. *Baxter* ſays, had advanced ſome of the moſt active Presbyters, as Superintendents, or Biſhops and Archbiſhops, for Mr. *Baxter* approves of this laſt Order as Overſeers of Biſhops; would it become a true Hiſtorian to impute all the Diſorders and Confuſions that were acted by and under the ſeveral Factions and thus made Biſhops, to that Order which were depoſed, preſcribed, and driven into Corners, or expoſed to innumerable Affronts and Sufferings during all that time, and yet this is the manner of Mr. *Baxter*'s dealing with thoſe more ancient Biſhops which he mentioneth (as a true Hiſtorian) throughout his *Hiſtory of Biſhops.*

Mr. Baxter. *Did you know or not that* Novatus *was an ill choſen Biſhop of* Rome, *and* Novatian *a promoter of his Prelacy?*

Anſw. I doubt not but Mr. *Baxter* knew that *Novatus* was meerly a Presbyter, and that in his time *Cornelius* was Biſhop of *Rome*, with whom *Novatus* had a quarrel for admitting ſuch to his Communion, as in the days of Perſecution under *Decius*, had denied the Faith,

Faith, *Novatus* affirming, That they could not repent after their Fall; and hereupon he calls his *Faction* the *Cathari*. This pure Presbyter being at *Rome*, ſe ſends for three Ruſtick Biſhops (as my Author calls them) to come to him from *Italy* to *Rome*, where he careſſeth them with plenty of good Victuals and Wine, and when they had well drank, ſome of *Novatus* his Party prevail with thoſe Biſhops to lay their hands on *Novatus*, and make him a Biſhop; but whether a Biſhop of *Rome*, as Mr. *Baxter* ſays, I have not read; but that *Novatus* and *Novatian*, who eſpouſed his Opinion, and promoted his Faction, to the great diſturbance of *Cornelius* the lawful Biſhop, is notorious in Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory.

Mr. Baxter. *As for* Donatus, *there were two of them, one of them a Biſhop; and the* Donatiſt *Schiſm was meerly and baſely Prelatical.*

Anſw. Here I queſtion your Fidelity; and have proved at large in my *Hiſtory of the Donatiſts*, that the Schiſm was wholly Presbyterial: for the Biſhoprick of *Carthage* being void, *Botrus* and *Celeſius*, two Presbyters, ſought to ſupplant *Cecilian*, a Perſon of known Integrity, who was choſen Biſhop of that Church: But *Lucilla*, a Woman deſcended from a Noble Family of *Spain*, abets their quarrel, and by great Gifts prevail with *Botrus* and *Celeſius*, who had been defeated, to appear for *Majorinus*, who was Domeſtick Chaplain to *Lucilla*, and had been Deacon to *Cecilian*: theſe gather

a great number of perſons, whom they had drawn from the Communion of *Cecilian*, to meet at *Cirta*, where they pronounce *Cecilian* depoſed as a Traditor, and ſet up *Majorinus* to be Bp. of *Carthage*, who dying ſhortly after, *Donatus* is by his Party choſen to ſucceed him; whom *Cecilian* accuſed for re-baptizing thoſe that came to his Party from the Catholick Church, and for degrading Biſhops and Prieſts. And this was the riſe of the Sect of the Donatiſts, under whom the *Arian* Hereſie ſpread it ſelf, and the Crew of *Circumcellians* aroſe, as may be ſeen at large in the *Hiſtory of the Donatiſts*. This is a ſecond Inſtance of the Schiſm begun by Presbyters, and of Mr. *Baxter*'s fidelity in relating Church Hiſtory, and imputing the Troubles cauſed and continued by Preſbyters to the Biſhops.

The third inſtance is *Arius* a Presbyter of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, who was bred up under *Melitus* another Presbyter, from whom *Arius* was taught, *That Chriſt was not the Eternal Son of God, but meer Man from both his Parents.* This *Meletius* held it lawful in times of Perſecution *to deny Chriſt*, as he had done; and pleaded, *That he had not denied God, but Man.* For theſe Tenets *Peter* Bp. of *Alexandria* Excommunicated them both; but *Peter* dying, *Achillus* ſucceeded him, under whom *Arius* reading Lectures in *Alexandria*, began to publiſh his Hereſie, and infected great numbers, inſomuch that *Achillus* dying, he became Competitor for that

that Biſhoprick with *Alexander*, who being a Perſon of known Abilities and Integrity, was choſen by a general Suffrage of that Church, by this good Biſhop. *Arius* was Excommunicated for oppoſing the Divinity of Chriſt, and teaching *that he was not from Eternity, nor did partake of the Subſtance of the Father, being created in time, and was indeed more excellent than other Creatures, but not equal with the Father.* He challenged to diſpute theſe his heretical Opinions with *Alexander*, and a time and place was appointed; but as *Arius* was come to the place, an extream pain in his Bowels ſeiz'd on him, and going aſide to eaſe himſelf, his very Bowels fell from him. But his Name and Hereſie ſurvived in another *Arius*, or (as Hiſtory ſtiles him, *Arianus homo potius quam Arius*) who oppoſed *Athanaſius* in the Council of *Nice*; but upon a full diſcuſſion of the *Arian* Doctrines by that Council, his Hereſie was condemned, the Books written for it were burnt, and an Edict ſet forth by *Conſtantine*, threatning Death to ſuch as ſhould conceal any of their Books. Now how long this Hereſie prevailed, how many Catholick Biſhops were baniſht and murthered for oppoſing it; how it ſpread like a *Gangreen* through all the Members of the Church, as you have ſet forth in your *Hiſtory of Biſhops*, is moſtly true; but your imputing thoſe Confuſions to the Catholick Biſhops, who were the Sufferers in all that time, being the defenſive Party, I am bold to ſay is falſe:

for under the *Arian* Schism, and by such as took part with them, as the *Donatists*, *Nestorians*, *Eutychians*, *Macedonians*, *Acephalites*, *Monothelites*, who often made havock of one another, and all united to distress the true Bishops; all those Mischiefs which you mention in this Letter, and more largely in your *Hist. of Bishops*, were put in Execution for 140 years together, (*i.e.*) from the days of *Constantine* to the days of *Constantius* ——— *nec dum finitus Orestes.*

Mr. Baxter. *Were it not for entering on an unpleasing and unprofitable task, I would ask you, Who that* Juncto *of Presbyters was that dethroned the King?*

Answ. They were such as the *Westminster Assembly*, that dispersed their Members into the Country to animate the People to ingage in the War against the King, and with Mr. *Baxter*, assisted in carrying on the War from the beginning to the end, and drew many thousands to ingage in that War. Those that incouraged the Rabble of *London* to go to *Westminster*, and demand Justice of him, in such Tumults, as forced him to leave his Palace for fear of losing his Life: Those that seiz'd his Towns, Forts, Magazines, and Ships to maintain the War against him: Those that animated Armies, with whom he was often present in Person, till they forced him to fly to the *Scots*: Those that sold and bought him as a Prisoner of War, and voted no more Addresses to him, but left him to such as at last barbarously murdered him.

Mr.

Mr. Baxter. *Was it they that petitioned and proteſted againſt it?*

Anſw. The King was dethron'd long before any Presbyterians petitioned or proteſted againſt putting him to death: then indeed, when it was too late, the Miniſters of *London* plead for him in theſe words; *That the woful Miſcarriages of the King himſelf, which we cannot but acknowledge to be very many and great in his Government, have coſt the three Kingdoms ſo dear, and caſt him down from his Excellency into a horrid pit of Miſery beyond Example*; this is as one Paraphraſeth it: *We affirm and teſtifie, that beſides thoſe of his evil Counſellors, the King's Perſonal Crimes and fundamental Errors in Government, too many and great to be mentioned, have coſt* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland *ſo dear, that all the bloodſhed, devaſtations, and rapine might be charged on him, and for theſe he is juſtly caſt down from his Throne into ſo horrid a Pit of Miſery, as to fall under a Sentence of Condemnation.* This is ſuch a Petition and Plea for the King, as thoſe that are made for Peace, which are Arguments for Separation and Diſcord. Mr. *Love*, a great Presbyterian, in his *Uxbridge* Sermon, laid a Foundation of this in that Maxim, *Melius pereat unus quam unitas.* But Mr. *Baxter* exceeds all, in repreſenting him as the Head of the *Grotian* Religion, which he ſays were *arrant Papiſts*: This is ſuch a Slander as his barbarous Judges were aſhamed to charge him with.

Mr. Baxter. *Was it not an Epiſcopal Parliament,*

forty or one hundred to one, that began the War againſt the King.

Anſw. They were indeed Epiſcopal Men and Conformiſts for the moſt part at their firſt meeting, but there was a *Juncto* among them that ſoon prevailed to ſilence and baniſh the Loyal Members, and then openly declared War againſt the King, and ruin to the Biſhops. Mr. *Baxter* was one of thoſe Epiſcopal conforming Men; but what he did hath been related: and he well knew of what Perſwaſion the five Members were, and thoſe whom he Canonizeth as Saints in his *Everlaſting Reſt*: Theſe had ſometime been zealous Conformiſts, and the King's moſt Loyal Subjects; but did they continue ſuch? The Biſhops that began the Reformation had been Popiſh, but when they renounced the Pope's Supremacy and Romiſh Doctrines, and ſetled the Church on a new Foundation for Doctrine and Worſhip, no ſober Man can ſay that the Reformation was either begun or carried on by Popiſh Biſhops. The Caſe is the ſame: Thoſe that began our war had been moſt of them Epiſcopal Men and Conformiſts; but when they impriſon'd and ſequeſtred the Biſhops, threw off the Liturgy, and entred into a Covenant againſt King and Church, they were neither Epiſcopal Men nor Conformiſts. Of this ſort were the Generals, Admirals, and other Officers by Land and Sea,

Mr. Baxter. *Whether the Archbiſhop of* York *was not the Parliaments Major-General?*

Anſw.

Anſw. Not at the beginning of the War certainly, nor ever that I heard but from Mr. *Baxter*, that he had ſuch a Commiſſion from them. That Archbiſhop was with K. *Charles* at *Oxford*, and well receiv'd by him; nor did he ever appear in any Hoſtile Actions till 6 years after the beginning of the War; and the reaſon of that was to vindicate a particular right of his own, and not on account of the war againſt the King, as hath been proved in that Biſhop's Life.

Mr. Baxter. *Whether the Epiſcopal Gentry and Miniſtry did not take the Engagement more than the Presbyterians?*

Anſw. I pray Mr. *Baxter* remember what you were to prove (*viz.*) who began the War; and and is this which was done after the King's death (if it had been true) an Argument to prove that they began the War. I have read in ſeveral of your Books ſuch a Relation of the beginning of our War, which will remain after you are gone; *That the War was begun by Epiſcopal Men*, ſuch as were of Archbiſhop *Whitgift*'s mind; *That the great Commanders in War by Sea and Land, were Conformiſts*; and I ſuppoſe I have ſaid enough to diſprove it: Let me therefore remind you of a foregoing paſſage in your Letter, *viz. That it is a part of Satan's work to perſwade the World, that no Hiſtory hath any certainty of Truth, that ſo Sacred Hiſtory may be diſadvantaged*; and now let the impartial Reader judge, whether *Lucian* or Mr. *Baxter* be the trueſt Hiſtorian. I confeſs

feſs you have ingaged me in an unpleaſing Work; but it may not be unprofitable, if what I ſhall add be duly conſidered: Let the Troubles at *Frankfort* be read over, and the groundleſs Conteſts and Animoſities of ſome Presbyterians againſt ſuch as adhered to the Doctrine and Worſhip of the Church of *England*, while both Parties were in Exile, and what you your ſelf have obſerved of their behaviour after they returned home, eſpecially of *Knox*, *Goodman*, and others, how they flew in the face of Authority, and inceſſantly woried Q. *Elizabeth* during her Reign? No ſooner were they called home, but ſome of them were ſo intemperate, impatient, and unpeaceable, that ſome of them turned to flat Separation, and flew in the Faces of the Prelates with reviling, *&c. p.* 150. of *Gildas Salvianus*. And if the Hiſtory of the Factious for Presbytery, during the Reign of King *James*, and eſpecially of King *Charles* I. be impartially read, you will find this odious Compariſon incomparably out-done. This is proper to them, to overthrow whatſoever Eſtate they are admitted to, (ſays *Bertius*, *in Orbis Breviario.*) And this is the reaſon why *Grotius* was ſo condemned for a Papiſt, becauſe in his Book *de Antichriſto*, he wrote ſo much truth againſt theſe Men, *Circumferamus oculos per omnem hiſtoriam; quod unquam ſeculum, vidit tot ſubditorum in Principes bella, ſub religionis titulo, & horum concitatores ubique reperiuntur Miniſtri Evangelici (ut quidam ſe vocant) quod genus*

genus hominum, in quæ pericula etiam nunc Optimos Civitatis Amſteladomenſis Magiſtratus conjecerit, videat ſi cui libet, de Presbyterorum in reges audacia, librum Jacobi Britanniarum Regis, cui nomen Donum Regium, videbit eum, ut erat magni Judicij, ea prædixiſſe, quæ nunc cum dolore & horrore perſpicimus. King *James* ſpake by Experience; and firſt he tells the Reader in his Preface, *Theſe raſh heady Preachers think it their honour to contend with Kings, and perturbe whole Kingdoms.* And in *p.* 41, 42. *Take heed my Son to ſuch Puritans, very Peſts in the Church and Commonweal; whom no Deſerts can oblige, neither Oaths or Promiſes bind; breathing nothing but Sedition and Calumnies, aſpiring without meaſure, railing without reaſon, and making their own imaginations, without any warrant of the Word, the ſquare of their Conſcience. I proteſt before the great God, and ſince I am here, as upon my Teſtament, it is no place for me to lye in, that ye ſhall never find, with any Highland or Border Thieves, greater ingratitude, and more lyes and vile perjuries, than with theſe Phanatick Spirits. And ſuffer not the Principles of them to brook your Land, if you like to ſit at reſt; except you would keep them for trying your patience, as* Socrates *did an evil Wife.* He told his Parliament, in his Speech *March* 19. 1603. *The third which I call a Sect rather than Religion, is the Puritan and Noveliſt, who do not differ ſo much from us in points of Religion, as in their confuſed Forms of Polity and Parity,*

rity, being ever diſcontented with the preſent Government, and impatient to ſuffer any Superiority, which maketh their Sect unable to be ſuffered in any well-governed Commonwealth. And now you may reſearch your voluminous *Baronius* and *Binius*, and collect the Maxims and Practices of the Jeſuits, who are not much elder than the Presbyterians, and if I do not match them in both from the Authors before-named; all which will not make up above one Volume of your twenty, and relate only the Hiſtory of about ſix or ſevenſcore years, for yours of about ſixteen hundred. I ſhall need to add only your own Theſes concerning Government, and what I ſaid will ſtill appear to be true, *That ſuch horrid things as have been done by that Generation, have not been out-done by any other ſince* Judas *betrayed his Maſter.* By theſe Relations Mr. *Baxter* may be inform'd, That ſomething hath befal'n the Church that for ſhame and miſchievous effects, hath exceeded the Perfidiouſneſs, Contention, Schiſm, and Pride of Biſhops.

POSTSCRIPT.

WHereas near half of Mr. Baxter's *Life is filled up with repeated Cavils and frivolous objections againſt our Epiſcopacy and Conformity to the Liturgy and Diſcipline of the Church, which have been fully anſwered by many Worthies of our Church, to the ſatisfaction of unprejudiced Readers; yet becauſe nothing will ſatisfie his Admirers but what is* Mr. Baxter's *own ſence, I have collected ſuch Anſwers as* Mr. Baxter *himſelf hath given to his own Objections, and printed them in a little Treatiſe called,* Mr. Baxter's laſt Legacy to all ſober Diſſenters, *which I doubt not may give them ſatisfaction if they deſerve that Title.*

FINIS.